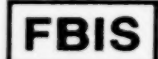


JPRS-WER-86-116

3 DECEMBER 1986

# West Europe Report



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

#### NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [ ] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

#### PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

3 DECEMBER 1986

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

## CONTENTS

## POLITICAL

## DENMARK

- Ellemann-Jensen on Role in UN, EEC, NATO, World  
(Uffe Ellemann-Jensen; BERLINGSKE SONDAAG, 12 Oct 86) .... 1
- Poll on Party Voting Preference  
(BERLINGSKE TIDENDE, 5 Oct 86) ..... 6

## FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

- Genscher Visits Hungary, Reviews Political, Trade Relations  
(Gustav Chalupa; DER TAGESSPIEGEL, 17 Sep 86) ..... 7

## ITALY

- PCI's Occhetto Discusses Leftist Reform Strategy  
(Achille Occhetto; RINASCITA, 18 Oct 86) ..... 9

## PORTUGAL

- Shadow Cabinet Composition Holds No Surprises  
(EXPRESSO, 4 Oct 86) ..... 16
- PCP Administrative Districting Plan Opposed  
(Ricardo Sa Gomes; SEMANARIO, 4 Oct 86) ..... 18

## SWEDEN

- Daily Paper Interviews Party Chairmen at Riksdag Opening  
(DAGENS NYHETER, various dates) ..... 21

Ingvar Carlsson (SDP, by Sven Svensson, Ake Ekdahl	21
Karin Soder (C), by Kaa Eneberg	25
Carl Bildt (M), by Ake Akdahl, Sven Svensson	28
Bengt Westerberg (FP), by Dick Ljungberg	32
Lars Werner (VPK), by Magdalena Ribbing	36

## SOCIAL

### TURKEY

Commentary Explorers Brain Drain Causes (Attila Ilhan; MILLIYET, 3 Aug 86) .....	40
New System for Vocational Education (MILLIYET, 6 Aug 86) .....	42
Ozal, Ministry Said in Conflict (TERCUMAN, 3 Aug 86) .....	46
Assembly Members Make Pilgrimage (HURRIYET, 6 Aug 86) .....	47
Activities of Pilgrims Reported (MILLIYET, 20 Aug 86) .....	48
Fundamentalists Abroad Disagree on Ideology (HURRIYET, 20 Aug 86) .....	49
Fundamentalist Propaganda in Greeting Cards, Videos (HURRIYET, 16 Aug 86) .....	50
Western Concern Over Islamic Resurgence (YANKI, 21-27 Jul 86) .....	51
Secularism Said To Be Embattled (Iskender Ozturanli; CUMHURIYET, 16 Aug 86) .....	54
Psychiatrist Denounces False Religious Teaching (Mualla Ozturk Interview; HURRIYET, 3 Aug 86) .....	57
Special Police for Strike Control (HURRIYET, 5 Sep 86) .....	67
Human Rights Association Founded (YANKI, 21-27 Jul 86) .....	68
Citizens Deprived of Passports (YANKI, 21-27 Jul 86) .....	70



## ECONOMIC

### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Italy Leads in EEC Infractions (IL MESSAGGERO, 6 Sep 86) .....	77
---	----

### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Government Report Calls Guestworkers Essential to Economy (Gerda Strack; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 17 Sep 86) .....	78
---	----

### ITALY

ISTAT Study Outlines Economic Growth (Felice Saulino; LA REPUBBLICA, 18 Sep 86) .....	80
--	----

### TURKEY

Economic Influence in Military Takeovers Examined (Osman Ulagay; CUMHURIYET, 12 Sep 86) .....	85
Editorial Argues Against Single State Bank (Tevfik Gungor; DUNYA, 12 Sep 86) .....	88

## MILITARY

### EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Spain Seen as Possible NATO Training Ground (Miguel Angel Liso; CAMBIO 16, 20 Oct 86) .....	90
--	----

### DENMARK

Social Democrats Want Shoulder-Fired Missiles Tested (Jens J. Krogh; AKTUELT, 20 Oct 86) .....	94
Arms, Munition Depots Not Adequately Guarded (Otto Ludwig; AKTUELT, 5 Oct 86) .....	96
Artillery Brigades Lack Experienced Men (Jens J. Krogh; AKTUELT, 18 Oct 86) .....	98

### FRANCE

Details of Military Maneuvers Provided (LE MONDE, various dates) .....	100
Joint Maneuvers Reported With FRG, by Henri de Bresson	100
Reservist Exercises Near Dijon Described, by Didier Cornaille	101

DGA Representative Discusses Arms Sales, Cooperation (Jacques Chevallier Interview; L'USINE NOUVELLE, 16 Oct 86)	103
President, Prime Minister at Odds Over Defense Budget (Jean Guisnel; LIBERATION, 15 Oct 86)	106
SPAIN	
PSOE Criticized Over NATO Memorandum (Miguel Platon; EPOCA, 13 Oct 86)	108
Defense Ministry To Purchase Digicom Radar (ACTUALIDAD ECONOMICA, 13 Oct 86)	112
Expenditures for Military R&D To Increase 50 Percent (EL PAIS, 22 Oct 86)	114
TURKEY	
Paper Reveals Secret Order Signed by Evren (HURRIYET, 12 Sep 86)	115
Seminar Examines Country's Position in NATO (Various sources, 5 Sep 86)	119
Effects of Mediterranean Problems Discussed	119
Focus on Warsaw Pact Relations, Economic Role	120

/9986

POLITICAL

DENMARK

ELLEMANN-JENSEN ON ROLE IN UN, EEC, NATO, WORLD

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE SONDAAG in Danish 12 Oct 86 pp 18-19

[Article by Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen: "A Little Land--And Yet"; first paragraph is BERLINGSKE SONDAAG introduction]

[Text] Danish foreign policy took up only a page and a half of Prime Minister Poul Schluter's 20-page opening address to Folketing on Tuesday. Against this background BERLINGSKE SONDAAG asked Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jensen to write a "foreign policy opening address" as an introduction to the debate on Danish security policy and other matters in the new Folketing session.

"The king is to act on behalf of the nation in international affairs."  
(Paragraph 19 of the Danish Constitution)

In its pursuit of foreign policy the government must present Denmark as it is and should be: a democratic and humane western welfare state.

Naturally we will try at all times to safeguard national Danish interests to the best of our ability. But this must always occur on the basis of the realization that no country can be self-sufficient. Therefore at the same time as we are looking after Danish interests we must make a constructive effort for the benefit of the international community. And we must show solidarity with the partners we have chosen--and with whom we have natural ties.

Few countries are so dependent on the rest of the world as Denmark. This gives Danish foreign policy a very special significance. It is to a large extent our relations with the rest of the world that are decisive when it comes to our ability to fulfill the mutual desires and goals we set for ourselves.

In view of the enormous importance of "international affairs" for the daily lives of individual Danes, it is surprising that the foreign policy section is traditionally so brief in the report on the general state of the nation with which the prime minister introduces sessions of Folketing.

This is probably for the simple reason that there has traditionally been broad political agreement on the main features of foreign policy. And that is also best in view of the importance foreign policy really has for domestic policy opportunities.

But this broad agreement has been seriously shaken in the 4 years that have gone by since the four-party government took office. Not because this government has tried to change the foreign policy line. It has not. We have loyally carried on with the policy that had broad support up to September 1982. It is because the Social Democratic Party has chosen in its opposition role to question essential features in the policy that the party was prepared to take responsibility for itself when it was in power!

This has given rise to a new situation in which there is uncertainty about Denmark's foreign policy. An uncertainty that we did not have before. And one which--if it goes too far--can cost Denmark dearly.

It is the duty of every government to work for broad cooperation on foreign policy. But not at any price! The price of broad political agreement on Denmark's foreign policy must definitely not be Denmark's credibility and esteem in the area of international affairs.

Actually we have an opportunity to influence international conditions to a much greater extent than our economic importance and population size would suggest. That is true as long as we inspire trust and respect--especially as far as our cooperative partners are concerned. But if we squander this trust and respect we will at the same time reduce our opportunity to exert some influence.

Therefore one goal of the government's efforts to implement foreign policy is to preserve the trust and respect that have insured Denmark a receptive hearing in the area of international affairs in the past. And that is by no means an impossible goal--if we can make people understand this connection.

Denmark's membership in the United Nations and our policy in the international organization are central--and positive--elements in this context. There is often a wide gap between the hopes we have in the United Nations and the organization's actual ability. But although one can be critical of the United Nations it is a fact that if the international organization did not exist we would have to set it up immediately.

The United Nations is in the midst of a difficult readjustment process and Denmark actively and constructively supports these reform efforts. We do so through our effort in all the UN bodies--the Security Council, the General Assembly and the many special organizations.

At the end of the year Denmark will be leaving the Security Council after serving on it for 2 years. Fortunately there has been broad support in Folketing for the government's view of how Denmark should conduct itself in this important body. We have therefore been able to work on the basis of

important to concern ourselves with individual conditions. Therefore at next month's follow-up meeting in Vienna I will propose on behalf of Denmark that a conference be set up on the human dimensions of the CSCE process. This will cover both the observance of human rights and the establishment of personal contacts between East and West. And Denmark will be glad to host such a conference.

In a similar vein we have announced a UN proposal for steps that could ease the existence of the many millions of refugees around the world. Here the international community must act on the principles of solidarity and sharing the burden. With this in mind we are proposing the establishment of regional asylum centers under the supervision of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that can assemble refugees, distribute them according to national refugee quotas based on a UN solution--and in general work for a global solution to a problem that everyone has an obligation to help out with. Only in this way can we give the truly persecuted refugees the assistance they deserve.

The importance I have assigned to Denmark's reputation--and the concern I have expressed--are closely connected. We must not forget the many possibilities we have for strengthening the positive aspects of Denmark's image. It is the positive aspects H. C. Andersen expressed in these words in the patriotic song:

"A little land--and yet..."

The words "and yet" imply that we do not need to bow our heads like serfs appearing before the master of the estate. We have great assets in our ability, in our history, in our culture that give us an opportunity to be heard, to increase our influence.

This is what makes it possible for us to present proposals and to attempt to influence international developments in a positive direction. But it means that we must pursue a logical and coherent policy that is supported by our ideals and acknowledged principles of law.

The government will work to this end in its pursuit of foreign policy. It will do so in accordance with the injunctions of the constitution and with full respect for the parliamentary system we all acclaim.

6578

CSO: 3613/11

POLITICAL

DENMARK

POLL ON PARTY VOTING PREFERENCE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Oct 86 p 7

[Text] Political Index

Question: Which party would you vote for if we had a Folketing election tomorrow?

Survey conducted in the period 20 September-2 October 1986.

<u>Party Preference</u>	<u>10 Jan</u> <u>1984</u>	<u>Apr</u> <u>1986</u>	<u>May</u> <u>1986</u>	<u>Jun</u> <u>1986</u>	<u>Aug</u> <u>1986</u>	<u>Sep</u> <u>1986</u>
Social Democrats	31.6%	31.1%	31.0%	31.1%	30.7%	29.5%
Radical Liberals	5.5	5.5	3.8	5.1	4.1	5.0
Conservatives	23.4	24.3	24.6	23.4	25.8	24.7
Single-Tax Party	1.5	--	--	--	--	--
Socialist People's Party	11.5	15.0	15.4	14.7	14.5	16.3
Green Party	--	--	--	--	--	--
Humanist Party	--	--	--	--	--	--
International Socialist Workers	0.1	--	--	--	--	--
Communists	0.7	--	--	--	--	--
Marxist-Leninist Party	0.0	--	--	--	--	--
Center-Democrats	4.6	3.5	3.1	4.0	3.6	3.1
Christian People's Party	2.7	--	2.6	2.9	2.2	2.4
Liberals	12.1	11.2	11.6	12.4	11.7	12.5
Left-Socialist Party	2.7	--	2.1	--	--	--
Progressives	3.6	3.7	3.0	2.7	2.8	3.6
Other parties*	--	5.7	2.8	3.7	4.6	2.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

\*Parties with less than 2 percent of the votes

Reproduction permitted if the Gallup Institute and BERLINGSKE TIDENDE are cited as sources.

6578

CSO: 3613/11



the basic viewpoint that the Security Council is a negotiating body and not a debate forum.

We have seen it as Denmark's task to bring about as much agreement as possible among members of the Security Council. That is more important than "distinguishing" ourselves with initiatives that are incapable of implementation from the outset. This position and Denmark's contributions have also won general recognition and respect in very broad international circles.

In the regional conflicts around the world--and unfortunately there are many of them--Denmark, alone or in cooperation with the other Nordic or EC countries, has called for and supported initiatives that could promote dialogue and a peaceful settlement of disputes.

This is also true of the situation in southern Africa. The apartheid regime in South Africa occupies a special position, however. Apartheid and racial discrimination are in themselves such a shocking suppression of human rights that the situation should lead to a reaction by the international community. And in our opinion the United Nations should have approved binding sanctions against South Africa a long time ago in order to hasten a peaceful transition to majority rule. This has not yet happened. And while we are waiting, Denmark and a number of other countries have enacted sweeping voluntary sanctions against South Africa.

Denmark's efforts in the United Nations have clearly increased respect for Denmark around the world. The same thing is true of the extent and quality of Danish aid to developing countries. And it is obvious that the results of the Danish government's economic policy have inspired respect, especially among our cooperative partners and allies.

Thus there are a number of "pluses" when it comes to the respect that is a prerequisite for influence. But there are also a few blemishes that detract from this.

I am thinking here of the questions our partners in EC and NATO sometimes raise--and not without reason--concerning Denmark's real involvement in the two cooperative organizations.

In connection with the discussion of the "EC package" last winter we had a healthy--although quite heated--political debate about what EC membership requires of Denmark. When a Folketing majority was not prepared to immediately approve Denmark's full participation in the future expansion of European cooperation, the government had no choice but to ask the people what they thought.

Fortunately a clear majority of the voters confirmed that they shared the government's point of view. Therefore Denmark was able to be the first EC country to ratify the EC package. And the entire course of events served as a useful--and impressive--demonstration for our EC partners that Danes take their EC membership seriously.

It has also been a positive element in the domestic policy debate to see how the clear result of the referendum has helped the Social Democrats to clarify their stand on EC after 3 years of exhausting and paralyzing internal dissension.

Our partners now expect us to make a positive contribution toward achieving the mutual goal of developing the community in the years ahead--primarily by implementing a large Common Market that will insure European production and employment a stronger position in competition with other countries, especially the United States and Japan.

The popular referendum on the "EC package" was called because a majority of Folketing members overstepped a line drawn by the government: we could not--and will not--allow doubts to be created concerning Denmark's future relationship to EC.

There is a similar limit when it comes to our relationship to NATO. The government cannot--and will not--tolerate the creation of doubts concerning Denmark's future NATO membership! A Folketing majority has come close to overstepping this line. But I do not think it will do so.

It is now known that the government is serious about setting limits on what is permissible when it comes to our relationship to our cooperative partners and allies. The line is drawn precisely where Denmark's credibility could be jeopardized. Where questions are raised about our solidarity. Where the impression is given that Denmark is a country that is interested only in receiving, not in giving. In this respect it must reassure our alliance partners to know that a very large majority of the Danish people support NATO membership. And that imposes a special obligation on the government to insure that this membership is not threatened by our own actions.

Our NATO partners are democracies. They know the parliamentary ground rules. And they understand that there are differences of opinion among democracies. It is actually a hallmark of democracy that there is room for more than one opinion. But disagreements in an alliance must be expressed in confidential and objective talks--not through public disavowals and backbiting.

Backbiting and the disloyal behavior we have clearly displayed in NATO on certain issues have cost us dearly in terms of lost opportunities for exerting influence. And they have seriously tested our credibility as loyal partners.

In the coming year the government will initiate two new foreign policy moves that are based on Denmark's humanistic tradition.

Considerable progress has been made in the European Security and Cooperation process (CSCE) based on the Helsinki accords. The Stockholm conference concentrated on the so-called measures to create confidence and security in the military area. We in Denmark feel that the various elements in this process should be given equal prominence. Of course it is important to get results in the military area--and the work here should continue. But it is just as



Despite all efforts to get on the track towards a balance in the industrial sphere, there is still not a glimmer of hope to be seen. In talks with the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and with Hungarian economic circles, the president of the German Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Wolff von Amerongen, attempted to open new possibilities for an intensification and a balancing of German-Hungarian trade. Expansion of cooperation between mid-sized German companies and Hungarian businesses may be favored by the economic reforms currently under way.

The German economy is already leading, with 330 cooperative treaties and 19 mixed German-Hungarian companies. The engagement of German firms in the economy is of great significance for Hungary because it has a Western debt of \$12 billion, and a prompt reduction of this interest burden depends considerably on the expansion of Western contacts. The soundness and credit standing of Hungary is not in doubt, despite the high per capita debt. In any case, Western bank consortiums always make Hungary the necessary loans, or they approve payment extensions.

Last year almost 900,000 German vacationers contributed to improving the Hungarian balance of payments with their Deutsche mark expenditures. Foreign Minister Genscher visited some favorite holiday spots of the German vacationers on Lake Balaton, and so could pass judgement on what Hungary has to offer for tourist travel. On this route, Genscher traveled at least a small portion of the path that FRG President von Weizsaecker will take during his official Hungarian visit, which is planned for October. Genscher is also arranging final political details for the first official visit of a West German head of state in Hungary. The overdue approval of Budapest for the opening of a Goethe Institute in Hungary would be a praiseworthy contribution to development of German-Hungarian relations.

13071/12859  
CSO: 3620/9

POLITICAL

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

GENSCHER VISITS HUNGARY, REVIEWS POLITICAL, TRADE RELATIONS

Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 17 Sep 86 p 3

[Article by Gustav Chalupa: "Bonn and the Economic Problems of Hungary--The Talks with Genscher--Upcoming Visit by von Weizsaecker"]

[Text] Officials in Budapest describe German-Hungarian relations as cordial and friendly, with the best prospects for further development. West German Foreign Minister Genscher's visit is confirmation of that here. Genscher attended a benefit gala concert for the SOS children's home in Budapest and made a private side trip as a guest of the Hungarian foreign minister to Lake Balaton. He used the opportunity to engage in informal discussions.

The official round of talks took place on Monday (15 September, 1986) and included a reception by the Hungarian party boss Janos Kader. The talks were characterized by "mutual understanding in a friendly tone."

Three main points were identified during the official talks of the two foreign ministers. One was the preparations for the coming round of conference talks on European Security and Cooperation in Vienna, at which Hungary will present the results of the Budapest CSCE Culture Forum which was held for this conference. Hungary's relationship to the EC was another point, and in connection with this the state of German-Hungarian economic relations. The last two are almost inseparable, since the FRG is Hungary's most important trade partner in the EC with 53 percent of total EC trade. Hungary is striving for a trade treaty with the EC, and made certain during the talks with Genscher that it has Bonn's support with EC offices in Brussels.

Whether Brussels can accommodate the wish of Budapest up front to eliminate restrictions on trade with the EC, that is, the limitations on certain critical products, appears to be doubtful, even when Budapest can point to its GATT membership and special regulations. The fact that even the Hungarian-German economic exchange is not without problems is indicated by the most recent figures. These show that the German exports in 1985 were DM3.06 billion, and imports from Hungary were DM 2.24 billion. The Hungarian deficit of DM822 million is the highest in years and could increase this year because of EC import restrictions following the Chernobyl atomic disaster, which did not allow any Hungarian agricultural products out to the FRG.

POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI'S OCCHETTO DISCUSSES LEFTIST REFORM STRATEGY

Rome RINASCITA in Italian 18 Oct 86 pp 3-5

[Article by Achille Occhetto: "Goals, and Means, of a Reform Strategy"; first paragraph is RINASCITA summary]

[Text] In offering our proposal, we hope to deal with the question of mediation as a way to seek out the new compatibilities that exist within the reform bloc, in a context free from an attitude either of defensive corporatism or of subordination to the moderate interests. A new fluidity characterizes the alignments that cut across the whole of society and the body politic. A new welfare program should be instituted that will take account of the harsh responses of the neo-free market partisans. Why is it that today more than ever, the radical proposal of a few objectives without any organic frame of reference is insufficient?

At the congress in Florence we introduced the idea of a platform convention. Our proposal was well received, and today we are getting requests from many sides to hasten the holding of such a convention.

In initiating this programmatic constituent assembly--which will of course culminate in a session during which we shall present the platform--we do so based on our conviction that the choices which the progressive forces must make today are choices on which the country's future depends. These are choices that will determine Italy's growth or its decline--that will decide the very fate of Italian democracy vis-a-vis society and vis-a-vis the state, and determine whether an effort will be made to implement a reform process that has had a long incubation period and that becomes increasingly indispensable, so to speak, in proportion as both its necessity and feasibility are being increasingly--and stubbornly--denied.

What is the apparent cause of the so-called failure of the five-party coalition? It is unquestionably the power struggle in which the Christian Democratic Party and Italian Socialist Party have long been locked, based on a desire to alter the balance of power within the majority coalition, with the prime ministership as the prize--a desire that has engendered an atmosphere of conflict harmful to the continued existence of the democratic institutions themselves.

But this is--so to speak--the internal history of the majority coalition. To limit ourselves to this history would be shortsighted; there is also an external history which we must take into account. We made this point very succinctly at the congress in Florence when we said that the five-party coalition represented an attempt to provide a solution for the social and political crisis that manifested itself in Italy in the 1970's--a solution formulated in terms of a moderate- and conservative-oriented stabilization, whose objective was the definitive exclusion of the most advanced forces of reform. It is the selfsame process--shaped in the colossal contest over the redistribution of power and resources, a contest that transcends the boundaries of the nation-state--that has consolidated the neoconservative blocs and brought about, in almost the entire West, a shift in the political spectrum to the disadvantage of the Left.

Coincidentally with the restructuration of the advanced industrial societies through the instrumentality of large agglomerations of interests in accordance with a neocorporative plan, a proposal for the "modernization" of existing political systems has taken shape in recent years: a proposal designed to simplify the models of representation; to weaken the forms of democratic sovereignty; to restore elitist circuits of decision and control; and finally, to impoverish the content of citizenship.

This is the vise that is tightening over the conquests of the social state. It is, moreover, a vise that places special concerns and jurisdictions above sensitive problems that in a very direct way involve opposing interests and aspirations. For this reason the debate--the dialogue between jurisdictions and politicians--must be approached with openness and cannot do other than make a thorough examination of the purposes, objectives, and values that inspire the programmatic research itself.

This is also useful and necessary in order to initiate that process of policy development of the forces of the Left during which new relationships between decisions and knowledge, between intellectuals and politics, are also being tested. The urgent need for these relationships in the area of organizational models, among others, also manifested itself forcefully at the conference on neoconservative policies that was organized by CESPE [Center for Studies in Economic Policy] and CRS, with the cooperation of the members of parliament of the PCI and Independent Left. Indeed, the problem of the platform is precisely the problem of the relationship among goals, values, objectives, and the bloc of social and political alliances. Moreover, the very diversities that can emerge in the course of such deliberations do not derive from abstract programmatic choices but very probably have their origin in a different perception of the alliances on which the reform project must be based. It is a complex question, a question that still divides the Left into a broad spectrum of positions and nuances. At one end of this spectrum are the defensive positions, and at the other, the positions that reduce the number of reform objectives to the minimum possible, so as to facilitate an indiscriminate expansion of the alliances.

At the same time, we have the position that was forcefully assumed recently by Claudio Martelli: a position advocating certain radical objectives but without

any organic frame of reference. A position of this kind most closely resembles a "double track" policy: one track within the institution, and the other expressed in the movements--two tracks that do not coincide on the same policy plane. This position has a drawback, namely the fact that instead of promoting genuine high-level mediation among the different classes and sectors that would presumably constitute the new reform bloc, it ultimately opens up many--and also contradictory--"little doors" onto the political marketplace. I wish to state emphatically, however, that the platform problem is also the mediation problem, as far as the search for new compatibilities within the reform bloc is concerned. Everything depends on locating the point of social and political equilibrium that should be the object of this mediation.

An indisputable internal truth lies behind the mistrust of the incursions made by the movements. However, the correct response to a mere tactical superimposition of objectives--a tactic carried out in an indiscriminating quest for a consensus--cannot be either a posture of defensive corporatism or an attitude of acquiescence and subordination vis-a-vis the compatibilities of the moderate bloc.

The mere existence of the movements, and the disparate radicalism of the objectives, contradict the fundamental effort made by the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] in behalf of a more comprehensive mediation, and have basically embarked on a collision course with the need for the creation of a new system of alliances. I should like, however, to add with equal clarity that even though we are not frightened by the urgent need--postulated as a genuine problem, at the aforesaid congress, by Michele Salvati--to respond to the scarcely credible banking, business, and technical circles on the subject of control of the dynamics of monetary income (a policy of all income) and of political compromise, it is still a good idea to understand that an arena for dialogue of this kind does not necessarily involve a minimalist reduction of the objectives of change. This is especially true in the light of the new structural gaps opened by the "great restructuration" that has characterized these years of the dynamic offensive of the neo-free market forces. Let us therefore beware of two types of unbridled subjectivism: the kind that makes a reversal of power relationships the fundamental objective, quite apart from one's goals, and the kind that makes the nonreversal of power relationships--and governmental relationships--an inviolable taboo.

#### Problem of the New Needs

Accordingly, if the problem of the platform is also the problem of mediation and compatibilities, then one must define the interrelationship among the compatibilities; the plan for change; and the goals. At this point the discourse may appear to be methodological in character, but it is not. It is not, because it deals with the essential political problem that exercises the controlling influence over the very possibility of formulating a platform that is both credible and capable of eliciting the support of the entire progressive front. One need only consider certain issues which--though elementary--are very complicated and difficult to resolve. The very fact that the majority of the population tends to be organized not within the production process but outside it is altering in spectacular fashion the entire traditional picture



that formerly was unrolled before both the reformist components and revolutionary components of the labor movement. The proven fact that one cannot automatically--and without enlarging the panoply of activities--produce additional jobs inasmuch as increments in production are henceforth unrelated to increments in employment poses problems that are disruptive from the standpoint of the substance of the existing social structures.

I do not understand how it is possible to banish from any realistic vision of the world the established fact that the new technological and industrial revolution carries with it social implications of such significance as to call into question all the structures of organized society, ranging from the relationship between work time and living time to the heart of the traditional family relationships, and from one's personal life style even to one's concept of the meaning of life. What we have here, in short, is some new wants. One need only consider the possible future ramifications of the division that exists between those who possess adequate information and those who do not, in order to realize that the new hierarchical structuration of society--and the ways to overcome it--will prove to be entirely different than in the past. The very process of overcoming the separation of the moment of production from the moment of reproduction--a separation that manifests itself in the division between the masculine and feminine roles--involves changes of incalculable proportions in the power relationships, in that it necessitates a profound reorganization of society--of its schedules, its rhythms, its models of production, and the very quality of its work.

Is all this perhaps extraneous to the platform--to the new relationship that one must be able to establish between weak sectors of society and a part of the strong sectors of society? No credible "democratic" platform can in fact exist if it does not take account of this problem. The choice lies only between authoritarian equalization or corporative anarchy, or a mix of both. It is precisely the problem of the fluidity of the alliances and alignments, that is to say, of the transverse alliances that cut across the entire electorate and all of society, transcending the traditional and rigid social classifications. Moreover, the synthesis that manifests itself through genuine mediation is precisely the problem of the platform. This is the area of the new--and genuine--effort (not yet entirely successful) of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Obviously, a concept such as this heightens the centrality of the platform, but as a focal point for coalition on the basis of which the new aggregations are welded together. The Left must accordingly promote a coalition that will unite to the "weak" the greatest number possible of the "strong," even if their immediate interests are different. This cannot be accomplished without a correct definition of the priorities, nor can it be accomplished by an a priori reduction in the objectives of change--by a kind of programmatic self-censorship. The transverse character of the alliances necessitates tedious processes of coalition designed to cope--in modern terms--with the thrust toward individualization, within the framework of a new relationship between state and marketplace, between public sector and private sector. This will be the terrain for a revival of the social state--one that will take account of the harsh responses of the neo-free market forces.

This undoubtedly will require a policy of compatibilities, but a policy of compatibilities that is functional to the objectives of reform--a policy not even a trace of which is visible in the government's commitment. I wonder what "reformer"--or even "reformist"--means, in the absence of a solution to this problem?

#### Public Intervention and State Ownership

What is lacking is the capability, the will, the intention to delineate--in contrast to a mere corporative sum of the individual interests, which is so characteristic of a certain "political marketplace"--the hypothesis of the bloc, of a new reform alliance that will stand in contrast, to be sure, to the strategy of the barricades and even the social-populist logic of which De Michelis speaks, but also to the political marketplace: to the "double track," or--in other words--the degradation of the weak, who are offered up and sacrificed to the mechanism of accumulation. That is a context in which an employment policy--such as the one proposed by the government--designed to replicate the war among the poor is completely functional.

What emerges instead is the urgent need for the construction of a positive, conscious alliance based on a precise plan for the progress of society. It is in relation to this objective that the gradualisms can, and should, be accepted and the mediations defined. The historical and programmatic problem that we face is the orientation of the gradualism, not the choice between gradualism and maximalism. This should be the terrain on which the Left competes. There is no gradualism in the governmental Left, because there is no "definitive orientation."

If we really want the platform, however, we must begin a serious discussion of a hypothesis of positive change--of a qualitative gradualism--that looks beyond a mere defensive posture, that infuses the very radicalism and bias of the objectives of the movements into a renewed commitment to planning and into the task of identifying special compatibilities that can be relied on.

This is rendered all the more dramatic because the confines of the weakest part of society are being displaced, in the sense that the potential circle of the disadvantaged is being enlarged, and dominion over society--achieved through the modernization of processes and the mastery of technology--is being concentrated in the hands of a minority.

More generally speaking, however, the key to overcoming the crisis of the social state is to be found today in the new contradictions posed by neo-free marketism; it is on this basis that a new discourse on the subject of growth is being initiated. This is also intensifying the urgent need for a new content and quality of growth, giving rise to the hypothesis of a transition to a new model. A new concept of the correct response to the reaction of the neo-free market forces is emerging strongly; it is embodied precisely in the hypothesis of a socialization of accumulations, in other words, planning and progressive socialization within the framework of a reform of the marketplace. This renders all the more urgently necessary a concept of socialization that does not equate government intervention with state ownership.

Indeed, this very probably means reversing the present situation--a situation characterized by a lack of planning with respect to the central choices, and by total state interference at the end points of the process (the suffocation of entrepreneurship and professionalism)--and replacing it with a strong indication of the central options available and with a more comprehensive liberalization of the capacity for initiative at the end points. This would probably require a shift in themes--with respect to institutional reforms--toward serious questions, starting with those that are inherent in the democratic management of the economy and in the democratization and socialization of the processes of accumulation. The hypothesis should be one of liberating the marketplace from burdensome bureaucratic encumbrances and guiding it--through the action of public individuals, among others--toward higher social objectives. In this sense one may speak at one and the same time--and not only in ideological and political terms--of freedom and socialization.

But in that case--I ask myself--must not the objective of the economy--and of any economy that aims at full employment--necessarily also be to bridge the gap between labor and the destination of labor? And therefore also to solve precisely the question of who will decide--and how to decide--the destination of labor? And, moreover, the question of why produce, and what to produce? Should, or should not, a platform also respond to these questions, to these needs? This is the only possible starting point for defining the concrete objectives--and also the real alternatives. It is, moreover, the point of contact with the most vital and advanced thinking of the European Left.

#### Not an Academic Process

In the last years of this century an attempt is being made, on the one hand, to cope with the unsettling effects of the dynamics of the world economy, which have punished the weakest regions by aggravating the conditions of dependency of the South of the world; while on the other hand there is a need to master the effects of a technological revolution that is opening up to human labor extraordinary opportunities for enterprise but that at the same time is being compressed into the mechanism of a growth that is distorted, unsettling, and unstable. Lastly, an attempt is being made to respond to what is perhaps the central demand of our times--a demand that sums up in itself the totality of the emergent expectations, needs, and rights (and no longer just consumer goods): the totality of the new forms of life associated in the areas of production, culture, political organizations, and movements that cut across all of society. It is, in short, a demand for a new quality of growth.

This demand is today a challenge to the European Left as a whole. It is concretely linked to the elaboration of the platform that we have made central to our thinking and to our policy from the congress of Florence to the present day. The significance that the proposed platform is acquiring is therefore clear.

What we have here is not an accessory element of our policy, and not even just the obligatory statement of objectives and subject matter on which to concentrate from time to time the available political resources. This is what we did when we introduced a draft platform for the final part of the legislative session, as the only political force that deemed it necessary to do so--and was



successful in doing so--in the course of the most recent crisis. These are segments--parts--of a broad process of policy definition. This process--which cannot be resolved academically--aspires to merge jurisdictions and strategic choices in the very heart of a movement that will commit all the political resources of the party, and in the very midst of an open debate concerning the major lines of change in society and the state--concerning the country's future. This is what we say to all those who reproach us for the abstractness and instrumentalization of the platforms and call on us to return to the prejudicial link with the alignments as the sole, indestructible principle of reality. The platform is therefore also the course that leads to this goal and is, at the same time, one of the fundamental elements for defining the identity of a political force--of a reform party. It is also the pivot of a political system such as the Italian system: the turning point that must be reached in order to bring the democratic alternative nearer.

Precisely for this reason, we believe that an important stage in this course is the platform convention that we announced at the congress. We attach great importance to it, precisely because on the one hand it allows us to infuse great inspiration--in the dialogue with the jurisdictions, with the specializations, and with the most active forces of Italian society--into the elaboration of the platform, and because on the other hand it allows us to select issues and forces with a view to the construction of a progressive alignment.

It will be a question of giving shape to a legislative platform, and getting it under way. We leave to others their addiction to establishing birthrights within the European Left. The serene knowledge that we have outlined a bright prospect--and solid ground--for the renewal of this society and this state is enough for us.

10992

CSO: 3528/21

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

#### SHADOW CABINET COMPOSITION HOLDS NO SURPRISES

Lisbon EXPRESSO in Portuguese 4 Oct 86 p 3

[Text] The presentation of the shadow cabinet of the PS was an event awaited with great interest.

First of all, because the intention to appoint this cabinet was announced some time ago.

Secondly, because there were careful preparations for the event and it was surrounded by special solemnity.

Thirdly, it was the first undertaking of its sort by a large party.

And fourthly, because it really was the first political action by the successor to Mario Soares, on the basis of which it will be possible to begin to discern his capacity to control the PS and to modify its conduct.

For all of these reasons, innovations were expected.

It was expected that a solid and original series of choices would be announced, combining unchallengable individuals with others who, because they were unexpected, would arouse curiosity and interest.

In a word, a surprise was expected.

One cannot but admit, however, that everything in this presentation of the shadow cabinet was more than predictable.

There were no surprises. None of the new "ministers" provoked special curiosity, and it even happens that many of them have already served in the government, and, in the majority of cases, as secretaries of state at that.

None among the names announced points to any possible future "revelation."

There will also be those who will say that the present cabinet does not represent a brilliant choice.

The argument is not well founded.

Vitor Constancio is not Cavaco Silva.

For reasons of temperament and style, Cavaco Silva is in a position to give a cabinet its image single-handed, making the identity of the ministers holding the various posts secondary.

Vitor Constancio, on the contrary, whose image is more subtle and whose style is less bold, will always be viewed as the coordinator of a team, and it will appear to the country to be strong or weak depending on the individuals it includes.

ny cabinet of Cavaco Silva's will always be like any of his others, however much the ministers may have changed.

One of Constancio's cabinets, on the contrary, might be very different from another chosen by him, if, for example, the ministers of finance, defense or education were to change.

But there is another reason why the introduction of the PS shadow cabinet was a disappointment.

An analysis of the choices made reveals that they were the result of internal compromises and arrangements, with the distribution of the posts having been effected more to establish certain political balances and as a reward for services rendered than as a result of a desire to create a homogeneous, efficient and technically competent team. And here again, it is impossible to avoid comparing the process of appointing the shadow cabinet with that of the appointment of the actual cabinet.

The present prime minister, following the Sa Carneiro line, cut through the party's rights and appointed a cabinet which, setting compromises aside and visibly overlooking "historic" figures, gave the impression of being the clear result of his desires.

Vitor Constancio presented the country with a different image of himself, suggesting that he does not yet feel that he is the real head of the Socialist Party, by appointing a heterogeneous team which seeks to reconcile instead of to clarify positions. It appears that he was sensitive to the pressures exerted upon him.

5157

CS0:3542/14

POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

# PCP ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTING PLAN OPPOSED

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 4 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Ricardo Sa Gomes]

[Text] The establishment of administrative regions seems likely to be the focus of a heated party battle during the next legislative session. Following the presentation by the PCP of a draft outline law which would establish administrative regions, the parties represented in the Assembly of the Republic have already adopted their positions. They will all vote against it!

The PRD already will present its completed proposal to the AR within a few days. A socialist proposal is being completed, and the PSD and the CDS are also studying the problem.

The communists urge establishment of all the administrative regions, or at least those on which there is a consensus, in fact next year. They want to begin with district division, to serve as a reference point for the people.

The PCP proposal further provides that "The municipal assemblies can vote in favor of regional areas corresponding to the present districts or they can propose a merger with other regional areas." The draft has been sent to the municipal assemblies for their opinion.

## PCP on the Offensive

According to some observers, the submission of the draft law by the PCP was designed to achieve a clear strengthening of its position in certain regions where it has been tending to weaken in recent years. Beginning with the district division and through the mechanisms proposed, it would be easy for the communists to mobilize and distribute (to the regions) the various municipalities where they still dominate, in order to weaken the influence of the other parties in these regions. This would be the case in Alentejo where, since the PCP has been losing ground in various sectors, the proposal submitted now would allow it to move ahead of the opposition.

"Controlling isolated municipalities is very different from controlling a large region with financial and administrative autonomy"--this is the concept which prevails in the communist ranks.

## PRD Terms Situation Regrettable

In the opinion of Carlos Lilaia, the spokesman for the PRD, the communist proposal that 18 regions be created justifies serious reservations. The PRD also disagrees with the way in which the discussion being pursued in the municipal assemblies is developing.

According to the renewal leaders, "It is regrettable that the municipal assemblies are losing time discussing just one proposal, rather than awaiting the submission of others like ours, which they know are nearly completed."

The PRD draft law, which will be made public shortly, takes into account the socioeconomic development of the regions, according to Lilaia. These regions should be based on areas corresponding to certain district complexes.

The PRD further proposes that the industrial contribution and the tax on agricultural industry be used, among other sources, to obtain regional income. Carlos Lilaia believes that the necessary conditions exist so that all of the regions could function in 1988.

## Too Soon, Says CDS

In the view of the CDS, it makes no sense to analyze any draft law on regionalization until the approaching constitutional revision is complete. In connection with the draft law proposed by the Communist Party, the CDS warns that it is only designed to consolidate the "artificial strengthening" of the PCP.

According to Fernando Seara, secretary general of the CDS, the proposal presented, to judge from its political premises and the form in which the establishment of the regions is sought, is merely intended to achieve the strategic goal of strengthening communist power in certain areas.

Finally, the centrists urge that the national consideration of the model of regionalization to be adopted be made compulsory.

## PS Wants Referendum

The PS has also criticized the communist proposal harshly, and it is preparing to submit its alternative proposal.

In the view of the socialists, the regional division should be effected on the basis of district complexes, but in a way different from that proposed by the PRD. Because of the complexity of the process of regionalization, they urge that "It should include a prior institutional consultation, and possibly a national referendum."

Accusing the PCP of urging "false regionalization," the socialists say that the proposal submitted reveals "the traditional strong centralizing desire of the PCP, and it endorses the districts and the status quo."

## PSD Suggests Pilot Region

While the PSD is studying the factors involved in establishing administrative regions with a view to "submitting concrete proposals," we have received reports that the Social Democrats might initially opt for the establishment of "pilot regions." In such a case, the Algarve would certainly be one of the first.

The Cavaco Silva's government is devoting attention to this issue and has already appointed a commission to reorganize the administrative divisions. It is headed by Antonio Montalvo. The work of the commission, which will be made public shortly, will serve as a basis for a possible draft law to be proposed by the government on the establishment of administrative regions.

This subject is likely to be a burning issue in the near future. Each party will fight for the solution which best suits its aspirations with regard to the local authorities.

5157

CSO:3542/14



POLITICAL

SWEDEN

DAILY PAPER INTERVIEWS PARTY CHAIRMEN AT RIKSDAG OPENING

Ingvar Carlsson (SDP)

stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 5 Oct 86 p 13

[Article by Sven Sversson and Ake Ekdahl: "Ingvar Carlsson Does Not Believe in Organized Cooperation--The Issues Must Decide"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] "I believe in broad political agreement across bloc lines, especially concerning defense, termination of nuclear power and sanctions against South Africa," said Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson in an interview before the opening of the Riksdag. All the parties have been burned by tactical maneuvers around the nuclear power issue, and those who are proposing increased defense expenditures must show how they will be financed, said the prime minister.

When Ingvar Carlsson came into office as prime minister after the murder of Prime Minister Olof Palme seven months ago he promised to leave the door open for discussion of all questions.

"Things have gone rather well so far," summarized Ingvar Carlsson. "We have made progress in housing with the Liberal Party [FP], and in the planning and construction law with the Center Party [CP].

"Ahead of us are the issues of defense, nuclear power termination and South Africa. I expect the same openness and unity on these questions."

Bloc Lines

Ingvar Carlsson does not believe that the new set of leaders on the nonsocialist side has altered the conditions for cooperation across party lines.

His theory is, "Cooperation does not depend on individuals, but on situations."

After 44 years of Social Democratic [SDP] governments, the three nonsocialist parties were forced into governing together. That allowed very little room

for compromises, and it became difficult to cooperate across bloc lines, he said.

"On the other hand, the Social Democratic one-party government can make its proposals openly, and compromise in parliamentary committees. We do not need first to compromise with two coalition parties," said Ingvar Carlsson.

He sees no reason why the major controversial issue of the fall session, the so-called one-time tax on private pensions, should prevent possibilities for cooperation.

Ingvar Carlsson pointed out that the SDP never rejected the possibility of using property taxation. He recalled the 1928 discussion about inheritance taxes and the conflict over estate taxes after the war.

That did not prevent the SDP, after these difficult conflicts, from forming a coalition with the then existing Farmers' Union.

#### Issues

Ingvar Carlsson does not think that it is possible today to have organized political cooperation with any party. It is the issues which will be decisive, he said. Naturally cooperation with the Center Party comes first, and also to a certain extent the Liberal Party.

For ideological reasons, cooperation with the Conservative Party (M) is more difficult, said the prime minister, mostly because the newly elected Carl Bildt has moved the party still farther to the right.

"The Conservative election platform of 1985 was, for me, conservatism at its worst. It's equal has not been seen since the night-watchman state of the 1930's.

"Immediately following the election the Conservatives realized that they had gone too far, but today the neoliberals are in good spirits again," said Carlsson.

After the election Liberal Party [FP] leader Bengt Westerberg wanted to make it appear that it was his social-liberal stance which led to the FP election success.

"It will be interesting to see Westerberg's reaction to Bildt's turn to the right," continued Ingvar Carlsson.

The prime minister has carefully noted that Westerberg mainly subscribes to the general social policy, but he wants more solid proof of Westerberg's social-liberal position.

"I have no preconceived opinions, I just wait and see."



## Engineers

Conservative leader Carl Bildt's criticism of the Social Democratic Party [SDP] for its "social engineering" in his inaugural speech is seen by the prime minister as merely an expression of the Conservative leader's desire to enter the debate.

"I began the debate about the information society three years ago. Now Bildt wants to present it as proof that the Conservatives will govern in the future. I have a hard time taking that seriously."

Ingvar Carlsson wants open discussions by the party leaders about defense and the development of nuclear power.

"In general it is advantageous to have broad unity on security policy. After the murder of Olof Palme I believe that we all recognized a need to stop quarrelling, especially over foreign policy.

"I do not know whether unity exists in eternity," continued Ingvar Carlsson. "The willingness to compromise will be tested when the Defense Committee soon recommends not only increased defense appropriations, but also how they will be financed."

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson was always both formal and careful in his responses.

His first major task as prime minister was to travel to Moscow, where he received guarantees that Party Secretary Gorbachev had unconditional respect for Sweden's policy of neutrality.

Now, six months after the trip to Moscow, Ingvar Carlsson has still not drawn any conclusions from the discussions.

"First I want to see what is happening in different areas. Negotiations on the centerline in the Baltic are going on, and several related cases remain to be solved."

Even when talking about submarine violations, Ingvar Carlsson takes his time before making any statement.

"We have not been able to determine the nationality of the activities which are said to take place in Swedish waters. We do not hypothetically discuss which countries are involved."

Carlsson emphasized that it is urgent that the violations be stopped. We will use our utmost resources, and those who are engaged in these activities must take the consequences.

The government will also strive to achieve cooperation across bloc lines about the liquidation of nuclear power, said Ingvar Carlsson.

"I believe that we have all learned the risks of short-sighted tactical speculation about nuclear power," said Ingvar Carlsson, answering a question whether political motives can determine the rate of termination.

I am coming to the party leader discussions without preconditions, and I will not in advance say anything about termination. It is a great advantage to conduct our energy policy with firmness and logic, so that the decisions are not torn up succeeding Riksdag majorities. That would be exceedingly costly and would produce unfortunate results.

#### Nuclear Power

Sweden is the only country which has decided to terminate its nuclear power. It was not possible to live with the anxiety which nuclear power caused. The accident at Chernobyl has further reinforced the anxiety, said Ingvar Carlsson.

The question of South Africa will be the third test of the climate of cooperation. After the notable summer debate, unity was reached in the Foreign Relations Committee on Sweden's line.

"I hope that the Conservatives will also agree to the boycott policy. Following the UN recommendation, this is totally in accordance with our foreign policy line," he said. "And the more countries we can cooperate with, the better."

During the fall the Social Democrats must solve a number of problems, the foremost being the labor conflict in the public sector.

The government's strategy has been to conduct an economic policy which will keep inflation down and create good employment figures. Minister of Finance Kjell-Olof Feldt has disagreed, and the government is behind him. There are limits to how much the wage earners can take out. This has been expressed clearly, said Carlsson.

Carlsson refuses to disclose what will be the next step.

"Just now nothing can be done. It is a sensitive situation, and I do not want to say anything."

#### Rules of the Game

Carlsson hinted that in the future he will be prepared to open a discussion about the rules of the game on the labor market. He referred to a statement last spring about wildcat strikes.

About the conflict within the labor movement between the public sector employees and those in the private sector, Carlsson said that it is primarily a matter for LO [Confederation of Trade Unions] to arrange a common wage strategy.

There have been tensions for many years. but usually the discussions have been behind closed doors. An open debate, such as occurred at the last LO congress, would have been impossible 15 years ago, but today attitudes are different, and the mass media more skillful, said the prime minister.

Ingvar Carlsson is a believer in collective action. His task as party chairman, trained by Tage Erlander and in the SSU [Social Democratic Youth] is to listen to the party Executive Committee, and let the decisions be made at next year's party congress. He does not know how the nonsocialists' demand in the Riksdag for a prohibition law will be handled in the fall.

The LO congress showed that collective action has broad support in the country, despite what is said, he believes.

"Those who work hard all day and cannot manage to go to meetings in the evening find that through collective action they have influence in the development of the community. That is one side of the debate which has not come out before, and it is worthwhile that it came out during the LO congress."

Karin Soder (C)

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 6 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Kaa Eneberg: "Soder Prepared to Review Nuclear Power--Broad Solutions Best"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] "Before the election of 1988 we must have in place a broad agreement about more rapid termination of nuclear power, preferably in line with the Center Party plan, with termination before the year 2000. I do not now dare have any preconceived notions about whom we will agree with, but I believe that Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's and Energy Minister Birgitta Dahl's statements about Barseback should obligate them to a prior commitment. The Liberal Party's position also gives hope."

These were the words of the Center Party's [C] Karin Soder to DAGENS NYHETER, at the same time as she expressed a strong willingness to compromise on the matter of termination. The Center Party leader spoke quietly and definitely, entirely free of the brisk freshness which she is encouraged to display before the TV cameras, when she spoke with DAGENS NYHETER for a couple of hours before the opening of the Riksdag.

For Karen Soder, leadership of the party is an unsought duty which she was required to undertake before Christmas of last year when Thorbjorn Falldin defected.

Save the Children

Previously this confident politician from Varmland and Taby decided at age 58 to reduce her political activity and devote more time to the Nordic activity "Save the Children" and her grandchildren. Instead she was forced in one evening to return and save her party, which was on the way to the bottom.

And she also believes that the party was saved, "even though more work is still necessary before we make real progress."

In the conversation which took place in her workroom in the Riksdag, and also in the corridors on the way to the granite bust of the father of the party, Axel Pehrsson-Bramstorp for photographs, she admitted without hesitation that the decision to change paths was difficult.

On major questions such as nuclear power and defense she expresses a positive view of the possibility of broad agreements, but explains that Ingvar Carlsson can not count on her as an ally on the planned pension tax. Although she believes that the Conservatives and Liberals who speak of "confiscation" are exaggerating.

But as she is an experienced politician, she avoids expressing herself categorically. She glides elegantly around questions concerning the condition of the nonsocialist front. To questions about the possibility of cooperation with SDP she replies, "We Swedish party leaders have all known each other for a long time, and we talk to each other." To the question of whether she can visualize an agreement on the nuclear power question with Ingvar Carlsson, she replies that she "does not exclude an agreement with the Liberal Party." She states in another context that the goal is "a nonsocialist alternative to socialism."

No Lock In

Her political style is clearly different from that of her predecessor Thorbjorn Falldin, and even on the central question for her party of nuclear power she refuses to be locked in.

She cites all the known negative factors about nuclear power--the unsolved waste problem, the built-in uncertainties--but she also emphasizes the need to listen to the readjustment problems of industry and its need for so-called lead time.

The Center Party plan for the termination of all nuclear power before the end of the century is a recommendation which the party brought forth for negotiation in the broad Energy Council.

"It will be discussed," said Karin Soder. She added that she is ready to study seriously all other proposals.

"We have our own proposal, but we are also anxious to have nuclear power terminated responsibly and with retention of a good environment and economy as early as possible. There will surely be adjustments between the plans, but we cannot agree with just any compromises."

She also firmly denied that Olof Johansson, energy minister in the Falldin government, and since last summer the first vice chairman of the party, gave the Conservatives and Liberals an ultimatum on the nuclear power question. His statement at Sala last week raised the hackles of Conservative Party leader Carl Bildt.

"What Olof Johansson demanded was almost exactly what I demanded, namely that the other parties bring forth their alternatives so that we will have a starting point for discussion," said Karin Soder, and immediately took back the word "demanded."

"I do not like the word 'demand'," she added. She said that "think" is a better word.

#### Alternative

She emphasized that it is high time that the parties bring forth their alternatives, since nobody wants a repetition of the chaos of 1978, which led to the Center Party leaving the three-party government, and the referendum.

She also emphasized that Olof Johansson really pointed out that the party is not locked into the nuclear power question, even though all agree that a changed attitude toward nuclear power exists after Chernobyl.

Karin Soder said that she is convinced that there is a readiness for revision on the nuclear power question in the other parties as well. She considers it a hopeful sign that the Liberal Party's Bengt Westerberg in the Riksdag last spring made reference to some nuclear power skeptics as sources. They were people whom the Center party had long been consulting in opposition to nuclear power.

Neither did she exclude the possibility of getting some Conservative supporters of nuclear power to join in a broad agreement for the termination of nuclear power.

"That depends entirely on what decision is supported by a broad majority," she said. Like Ingvar Carlsson, the Center Party leader fully agrees that a decision must be reached that has such broad support that it will not be torn up again. As to the possibility of agreement with the Conservatives on energy questions, however, she added that she does not share Carl Bildt's opinion that it is a choice between nuclear power and coal.

"There are of course many more alternatives, for example take the latest reports on solar experiments. It is really just a question of politicians deciding what to do. We have of course both research and high technical knowledge in our country which we must utilize. We have come a long way in the development of fossil fuels."

Karin Soder welcomes the decision by the American Senate to boycott South Africa, that "plague on the world community." If the work of the Security Council to reach a decision on sanctions does not succeed, the Nordic governments must quickly decide on a common boycott.

About the newcomer to the party leader circle Carl Bildt, she says that she wants to hear a bit more about him before she classifies him, as Ingvar Carlsson has done, as more rightwing than Ulf Adelsohn. Karin Soder says that she has cordial contacts with both the other nonsocialist party leaders.



"We do have contacts with each other, even though we have no formal discussions before the opening of the Riksdag," she said.

She is as eager to tone down her own role at the worktable as she is to tone down the drama around contacts between party leaders. The only advantage to holding the unique position of the only female party leader that this earthy woman can think of is that she is "probably better than a man at getting involved in the striking nurses' demand for better wages." She was a teacher until she was swallowed up by their policies.

Scoffed At

On the other hand she has no sympathy for the female writers who scoffed at her contributions to the general political debates in the Riksdag last spring.

"I am who I am, and I have difficulty dissembling. And even if I have not mastered every detail of a question--no party leader has--I really know what I am doing. We politicians do not need to be oracles. It is better to be like ordinary people," said Karin Soder very firmly.

She also said that the figures in the opinion polls are not always as bad as they can appear. The party has risen in the polls since last winter, even though it is still below the election results. She pointed out that it is really the Liberal and Social Democratic Parties which have been hit by declines during the second quarter.

"It is interesting that since the election we have taken in a large number of new voters. We have grown in the big cities and we are slowly but surely gaining. But we fully appreciate that there are no cheap victories," said Karin Soder.

Carl Bildt (M)

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Ake Ekdahl and Sven Svensson: "Bildt Wants Stronger Foreign Relations: The Security Policy Has Failed"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] "The continued submarine violations are casting a certain shadow across Swedish-Russian relations. We have failed with a very centralized security policy mission during the past three years." These words were spoken by Conservative Party (M) leader Carl Bildt during DAGENS NYHETER's third interview with party leaders before the opening of the Riksdag.

Since long before he became party leader, Bildt has been one of the most vocal opposition politicians on the issue of security policy. The alarm has grown quiet following the murder of Palme.

"The watershed within security policy really became the defense policy thoughts which were set forth in May of last year, and which are still valid even today," said Bildt.

"Furthermore it was important that former Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom departed and left a place for Sten Andersson, who has shown greater ability to listen to others," he said.

## Security

"It is serious that the security problem is still with us today. Everything indicates that submarine violations are continuing at the same level despite the new prime minister, Ingvar Carlsson, visiting Moscow last spring," said Bildt.

"We have all failed with a very central security policy mission during the past three years.

"The violations can only be stopped if we have a strong foreign policy in combination with a stronger defense policy. The violations can only be stopped if we gradually and firmly increase the risks for the offending nation."

Bildt emphasized that the continuing submarine violations are casting a certain shadow over Swedish-Russian relations. We cannot prove that they are Soviet violations, he said. The only nation that we can tie to the violations is the Soviet Union. The obvious violations that we have had cause a certain caution in Swedish political behavior. We must behave with caution toward any nation which can be suspected of being responsible for the violations.

"At the end of last year we got the impression that the Soviet Union was pondering its relations with Sweden. After Ingvar Carlsson's visit to Moscow the attention declined."

## Waiting

Bildt sees Swedish relations with the Soviet Union as waiting for daylight. He believes that surprisingly little has happened in connection with the reunion cases and the unsolved issue of the middle line in the Baltic.

## Can Sweden Be Defended?

"There are troublesome holes in the defense. The size and staying power of the air defense is beginning to be a great concern. Antisubmarine capability is another major problem. The quality is high, but the quantity is too little in the light of what is happening in the outside world," said Bildt.

The Conservative Party wants to raise defense expenditures, and considers that it could finance strengthened defense within its own budget alternative.

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's ideas in DAGENS NYHETER about the Defense Committee approving increased financing for defense appropriations was considered by Bildt as being farfetched.

He expects that the SDP leaders in the committee will put forth proposals for financing, and he believes that a four-party agreement is attainable.

"If we agree on reforming the defense at a reasonable level, we will also agree on the financing. But we are not ready to sit down for detailed discussions on how the SDP government should run its national budget."

#### Sanctions

Another difficult question for the Conservatives in the fall session will be the sanctions against South Africa.

"Binding sanctions would be the best alternative. But the Security Council was satisfied with a general recommendation, so we must look at the formulation. Then it will be up to our own judgment how we should act. We must try to reach a solution in line with other countries which will be effective in South Africa without damaging ourselves.

Bildt considers it stupid to surrender Swedish firms to South African principles. He does not see how that can help the blacks, or Swedish business.

The Conservative Party Leader wants to activate Sweden's European policies. He said that otherwise Sweden runs the risk of becoming a "backyard" to Europe. The French visa decision is a warning sign of what can happen. We have also had difficulties in keeping up with cooperation in high technology.

"We must be a part of the inner market which the 12 EC countries will establish in 1992. Therefore we should have serious conversations with the other Nordic countries in order to give the Nordic area increased influence in European cooperation," said Bildt.

#### Europe

He has not established any final goal for Sweden's European policy, but he wants a gradual closing of the distance. Neutrality prevents Sweden from participating in an obligating foreign policy cooperation, said Bildt.

The Conservative Party has no fear that the three nonsocialist parties will not be able to bring forth a viable government alternative before the next election. Bildt issues no ultimatums about either taxes or nuclear power, which previously destroyed two nonsocialist governments.

"It is important to convince the voters of our willingness and ability to act together. The voters believe in our willingness, but some still suspect our ability. Therefore the three nonsocialist parties must in their daily conduct create a basis for such confidence."

Bildt believes that it is important that the parties have different positions on different questions. The voters expect that. We are, he said, three different parties, and the question is how we will handle our differences and



retain our mutual respect. Bildt believes that conditions for this are better now than they were 10 years ago.

"Karin Soder's reasoning about nuclear power in DAGENS NYHETER shows that," he said.

#### Ambitions

The Conservative Party leader does not believe that any party on the nonsocialist side can make ultimative demands. Both nuclear power and tax questions deal with the level of ambition, he said.

The Conservatives want an objective test of nuclear power in which safety will be decisive.

"I do not see how Chernobyl can influence judgments on the safety of Swedish nuclear power. If we determine that Swedish nuclear power plants are not more unsafe today than before, then we should make no changes in the nuclear power program. On the other hand, if they are more unsafe, then we will demand prompt termination. I have difficulty understanding intermediate positions, but I am willing to listen to arguments," said Bildt.

About the total tax burden, Bildt said that Sweden should lower the level to that of the other European countries. The rate depends on the growth of the economy. If there is zero growth in public expenditures and a simultaneous growth in the national economy, Bildt believes that the total tax burden can be reduced rather quickly.

"I do not believe that anyone today wants to make it a kind of a dogma that we should always have the tax burden that we have today."

#### Before the Public

Bildt believes that such a dogma would mean that we are forced to increase the public expenditures more than planned. The new Conservative leader believes that the SDP has become petrified in its thinking.

"If one should compare an ideological speech by Palme to one by Carlsson, the latter is much more dogmatic. Palme's flexibility was both his strength and his weakness. Palme moved across the field so fast that his content became unclear. Carlsson is clearer," said Bildt, who carefully read the prime minister's speech to the LO.

Therein Carlsson compared the rights of citizenship against the rights of ownership. Bildt believes that by rights of citizenship Carlsson means voting rights. Everything can clearly be determined through voting rights. Bildt considers that the recipe for a totally polarized society in which the rights of private ownership are successively undermined.

"The right of ownership gives the right of influence. I must have the right of influence over my pension, my house or my car. That is the right of

citizenship. Also through voting rights I have influence over economic policy, security policy, the legal system, etc."

#### Distribution

Today's conflict in the labor market is, according to Bildt, proof that the SDP is not solving the distribution question. It arose because they promised gold and green forests to the public sector. We are therefore experiencing a crisis of quality in public service and the exercise of authority.

"The state tries to do more than it can, and we have impoverished the public sector which created problems both for those who work and those who depend on public service."

Bildt believes that the SDP has been clumsy in solving the problems. He believes that the head of LO, Stig Malm, made several bold statements before his congress, but seldom has anyone been so run over as he.

"Civil Affairs Minister Bo Holmberg now looks like--I don't know what. He was offered nothing."

#### Is the Ghost of the Right Alive?

"Certainly, the ghost of the right crops up in every election. The SDP prints large colorful brochures about the ghost of the right, but the ghost of the right requires more and more advertising money to keep him alive. But the SDP is rich enough to manage that."

Bengt Westerberg (FP)

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 9 Oct 86 p 12

[Article by Dick Ljungberg: "Bengt Westerberg Plans For a Power Shift: Nonsocialists Agree on Tactics"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] "Karin Soder, Carl Bildt and I agree on how we will conduct the job of the opposition until--we hope--it becomes government cooperation after 1988." Those were the words of Liberal Party [FP] leader Bengt Westerberg. At the same time he believes that possibilities are good for broad agreements in the fall on defense, nuclear power and South Africa.

Bengt Westerberg swiftly became the doyen as party leader on the nonsocialist side. He believes that the three parties can write up a political platform together before 1988 on the questions on which they agree. But he avows that he is not a "cooperation engineer."

"Karin Soder, Carl Bildt and I meet now and then. But I do not believe that any of us feel the need to be cooperative engineers. We visit each other quite naturally, and exchange thoughts and opinions."

The difficulties of the government coalition were of interest recently because of a treatise by the former chief editor of DAGENS NYHETER Sven-Erik Larsson. What conclusions does Westerberg himself draw from the power shift of 1976?

#### Close Contacts

"One lesson is that the lack of contact between the three parties before the election of 1976 led to difficulties when they later formed a government," replied Westerberg. "Now we have closer contacts in order to be better prepared."

"The contacts are not just to build a bridge over conflicts or to try to find common solutions, but also so that we can learn to know each other and to understand the viewpoints of the other side. Contacts can also mean that we can explain ourselves when journalists dramatize some statement. It is important in creating confidence."

At the irregular meetings they also discuss what will happen until the election, said Westerberg. It is important to base possible future government cooperation on cooperation in the Riksdag, for example through common dissents.

"We agree on how we will conduct this job until 1988."

#### Self-Confidence

The nonsocialists have now shaken off a bit of the attitude which they had toward SDP in 1976, said Westerberg. Self-confidence in their own policies is now greater.

Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, in Sunday's DAGENS NYHETER interview, sought broad agreement concerning defense appropriations, energy policy after Chernobyl and measures against the apartheid regime in South Africa. Bengt Westerberg believes that the chances are good to reach agreement on all three questions.

#### Foreign Policy

"Unity on defense is valuable in itself. That is a good tradition to follow."

Submarine violations are expected to continue. Westerberg believes it is correct of Ingvar Carlsson not to criticize any special nation when no determination of nationality has been feasible.

"But I believe that on his visit to Moscow Ingvar Carlsson made it very clear how we in Sweden see the violations, and that they are damaging our relations. When we have been able to determine the nationality of the penetrating submarines they have of course been Russian."

The FP leader believes that the reason why foreign policy was so stormy during the time of Olof Palme and Lennart Bodstrom was a sense of mental discomfort

after a series of "affairs." The debate at that time did not reflect any real opposition on foreign policy.

Even on the issue of South Africa Westerberg believes that he has received signals during the fall that they will be able to agree.

"We have of course recommended that Sweden together with other Nordic countries should carry out a trade boycott. On the other hand the government believes that we have gone as far as we can without breaking international agreements and rights. We believe, however, that the UN resolution of 1985 and GATT stability allow us to go farther."

#### Nuclear Power

On nuclear power Westerberg believes that it is possible to reach "rather significant unity" despite the breach which exists between the Center Party and the Conservatives.

The Center Party's termination plan and statements by vice chairman Olof Johansson have caused wondering.

"I believe that the Center Party is anxious to push its position hard, and one must understand that," said Westerberg. "But from Karin Soder and party secretary Goran Johansson I have received the impression that the Center Party does not intend to make ultimative demands. They are aware that one party cannot dictate terms.

"Everyone recognizes that nuclear power will be terminated. Later we will discuss how much time is necessary to develop other energy sources and increase the efficiency of energy consumption.

"I have trouble seeing any basic difference between the parties on this question--whether we should terminate in 10 or 15 or 20 years," said Westerberg.

#### Strain Over Taxes

Westerberg does not believe that the hottest political question of the fall session--the pension tax--will worsen cooperation in the above-discussed areas. Possibly it will be difficult to discuss other tax policy questions. The Liberal Party has had bad experiences with SDP in this area.

On tax questions there are strains even among nonsocialists. The Conservatives want a prompt reduction of the total tax burden, and the Center Party prefers better municipal tax equalization rather than lower marginal taxes.

#### Financing Promises

"In, for example, a five-year perspective one should be careful about making promises about total tax reduction," said Westerberg. "And I have noticed a shift among the Conservatives. Formerly they spoke of a tax reduction of 50

million in five years, and now however they speak of reducing taxes in accordance with the economy. There we are more in agreement."

When one makes promises of tax reduction he must also speak of how they will be paid for, said the FP leader firmly. In Malmo the nonsocialists reduced taxes after the 1985 election, while municipal activity continued largely unchanged. Now they have a large deficit, which is a little frightening.

FP believes in and is discussing a better tax equalization system. But it is advantageous to allow the right of municipalities to tax, and so one must accept that there will be certain differences between municipalities; an equalization scheme which would please everybody does not exist, said Westerberg.

He is personally very attracted to the tax recommendation which SACO-SR [The General Association of Salaried Employees-The National Federation of Government Officers] presented recently. He suggested that Finance Minister Kjell-Olof Feldt circulate it through the government for comments, and Feldt dismissed the whole idea when they met in a debate in Uppsala on Monday.

"The point of circulating it for comments is that then our program, together with the SACO recommendations, could form a basis for a rather radical tax reform. And almost everyone, including the finance minister himself, agrees that we must do something about the marginal taxes."

#### Another Debate

About Ingvar Carlsson, the FP leader said that in two ideological speeches to the Food Workers Union and the LO congress he had expressed, on certain points, a very socialist tone.

Before the Food Workers Union last spring the prime minister said that the degree of equality in a society indicated its sense of justice. In an extension of this reasoning, total equality is the ultimate justice. Westerberg believes that this is an extremely socialist position.

"If that is an expression of Ingvar Carlsson's innermost thoughts, then there is a very great difference between us," said Westerberg.

The War of the Roses within SDP is a reality, he believes, and he points to the strains between private and public employees and between the public employees and Feldt.

The conflicts of recent years have shown that it is a myth that an SDP government would be better at wage negotiations than a nonsocialist government. It is difficult for all governments, regardless of party, to know how people will act.

"By their conduct during the election campaign the government created large expectations. They allowed LO to claim that there was room for large wage increases in the public sector. When the government after the election said



there is no room, they have contributed to creating a bad climate and made negotiations more difficult," said Westerberg.

Lars Werner (VPK)

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 11 Oct 86 p 13

[Article by Magdalena Ribbing: "Lars Werner, VPK, Veteran Among Party Leaders: One-Time Tax Is Too Feeble"; first paragraph is DAGENS NYHETER introduction]

[Text] Lars Werner, chairman of the Communist Left Party [VPK] is convinced that he will live to see the day when communists will take office as governors in Sweden. He would prefer to be the governor of Stockholm County.

Otherwise the VPK leader believes that society is treating its history carelessly--there is not a single painting or statue of any communist in the entire Riksdag Building.

Both governorships and images in the Riksdag have representatives of all the other Riksdag parties. But the Communist Left Party is not yet among them. Nor is it represented in the Foreign Relations Committee or the Armed Services Committee.

"But we will be in both places, most people agree on that," said Lars Werner confidently. "If we get a few additional seats we will be on all the committees (which prepare and decide most of the Riksdag's business)."

Monuments and governorships? Lars Werner believes that former VPK leader C. H. Hermansson could well have been offered the governorship of Stockholm. He was suitable for the job, but whether he would have accepted is another question, said his successor. And monuments?--yes, Lars Werner believes he could donate a painting of Sven Linderot, an early communist chairman after the party split in 1929. The painting hangs in the VPK office at Kungsholmen now.

If VPK is now counted among the democratic parties, where is the revolution?

No Romantics

"As I see it, a revolutionary change in Sweden is a revolution of power, so that the wage earners, the workers, get it at the expense of the owners of capital," said Lars Werner, and he has formulated it carefully.

"We are not revolutionary romantics. One could never carry out such a change in Sweden without having a popular majority in favor of it. A socialist Sweden cannot be created with blows in the Riksdag, it is a step by step process, fighting for justice in working life and in society.

Does Lars Werner believe, in the depth of his red heart, that the day will come when Sweden resembles his vision? Yes, he said, otherwise I would not bother with politics.



"But on condition that the labor movement does not continue to be as it is today, that VPK does not continue as a five percent party, and that SDP does not manage a good capitalist economy, but moves much more to the left."

#### Criticism of SDP

Lars Werner has a number of critical opinions of SDP. When he first came into the Riksdag in 1965, the SDP attitude was, "we lay out our proposals and the rest of you vote however you want to." Things still usually turned out the way SDP wanted them. But Lars Werner believes that a unicameral legislature with its weaker majorities has influenced SDP so that they are more realistic, even though there are still some who act as though SDP has its own majority.

The VPK leader believes that on certain questions SDP has gone to the right. He believes that the economic policies being followed now contain features which are pleasing to the nonsocialists.

"The main objective for SDP is to have a strong capitalist economy in which to make reforms. At the same time as a discussion is going on among the social democratic unionists about the distribution policies, companies are making record profits and the number of jobs is declining. That means we are turning to the right."

But in foreign policy the Social Democrats have gone to the left, said Lars Werner. They learned from the Vietnam war, which caused them to do an about-face toward the Vietnam movement.

"But of course there are rough spots in foreign policy--weapons export, for example"

Domestic policies are also turning to the right, according to the VPK leader. Collective support, which VPK and the nonsocialists want to abolish, is fostered mainly by the union representatives. Lars Werner, who is on leave from Byggetan for 3-year periods since 1965, has never had collective support, since the unions decide on their own how they want it.

"When I fought collective support it was the union Social Democrats I fought against."

But what about freedom of association?

"Today the discussion about freedom of association is equivocation. There must be limits to the freedom for an association to decide, and collective support conflicts with all principles of political freedom and freedom of association. If one uses the right of association to join individual members to a party he is overriding other and more important principles."

SDP, which VPK is now dealing with on the party secretary level, will in an unambiguous way say that they will abolish collective support, said Lars Werner, because we are putting our own proposal for abolition before

the Constitutional Committee. We have a draft already prepared, it would be a falsehood to deny it.

Lars Werner is more pessimistic now than he was a couple of months ago about the possibility of reaching an agreement with SDP to abolish collective support. Pertinent to that situation are the statements of a couple of union representatives at the LO congress recently.

"A couple of statements like that, which indicate that the Social Democrats believe that they can settle things themselves, make it more difficult to reach an agreement. I have experienced that reaction in my own party, and also among Social Democrats who hope they will be able to solve the problem."

Social Democrat Valter Aman has said that the one-time tax, which will be a government proposition, is undemocratic. What do you think?

"Valter Aman is wrong," said Lars Werner.

"He has gradually approached the nonsocialist and conservative positions, and has actually always been somewhat of a 'petit bourgeois'."

The one-time tax is therefore not undemocratic. It is not in the least undemocratic to allow people who utilize an increase in value which they did not expect to get a little less from the enormous profits from interest.

"Now perhaps the private insurance firms will get the increased rate of return they really expected rather than one much higher."

"But the one-time tax is actually too feeble," said Lars Werner. The original idea of a real interest tax should be restated. Such a tax would have been better, according to VPK. The Social Democrats gave in too early, and did not get any help from LO.

#### New Program

VPK now has a proposal for a new party program under review which will be released across the country. A description of Sweden as a "small but hungry imperialist state" was deleted. But that does not really please Lars Werner, he would not have objected to seeing the passage remain.

"It is much easier today to explain the meaning of that expression than when it was written in 1972. Now there is South Africa, Sweden has participated in the exploitation of South Africa. And Sweden has not become a 'satiated imperialist state,' but even hungrier, and now invests still more abroad. We do not do this out of friendliness, but because we earn more money in the Third World."

How long will Lars Werner be the party leader? His predecessor C. H. Hermansson was in office for 11 years, and that period has passed for Lars Werner, who became party leader in 1975, and is the party leader in the Riksdag who has held office the longest, by a large margin.

Lars Werner said that of course the members decide how long the chairman will hold office.

"One should not seek to be the party leader, to have that ambition. And as long as I think that politics are exciting I will not quit. Just now it is exciting."

And if he should leave the post, Lars Werner can still be a bricklayer. He is a trained bricklayer, and could go out and work at his trade.

That is if he does not become the Governor of Stockholm, of course.

9287

CS0:3650/8

SOCIAL

TURKEY

COMMENTARY EXPLORERS BRAIN DRAIN CAUSES

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 3 Aug 86 p 10

[ Article by Attila Ilhan ]

[ Text ] Thanks to the UN we are now able to 'borrow' the 'brains' that belonged to us in the first place. But before we say anything let's take a quick glance at a news item. This is how it reads:

UN has been trying to reverse the flow of the Turkish brain drain, albeit with a short-term perspective. Turkey, the focus of recent attention due to the number of its emigrating scientists, has provided rationale for a 'brain drain reversal' project for developing countries. In accordance with the TOKTEN project (Transfer of Know-How Through Expatriate Nationals) which started back in 76 and currently covers 17 countries, scientists are expected to work in 'their own' countries for short periods ranging from one week to three months.

UN has decreed that we, too, might benefit from the project by 'borrowing' 319 of 'our brains'! Even that is considered a big deal! One UN official has been heard saying :

It is quite difficult to make the expatriates return. They have acquired citizenship, some of them work with big resources and their status is quite good. Going home is simply not in the cards in the short-term.

That's it then! You raise a child, turn him into a man, place your educational system at his disposal, only to see him leave. Isn't there something wrong, drastically wrong in all this? The student who won first place in the university entrance examinations is reported to have said, "Our educational system is rotten", or something to that effect. How right he is. We know Turkey prides itself in possessing a wealth of trained manpower compared to most developing nations. But that is only half correct: Turkey lets half its 'brains' be captured by the 'infidel' and then, through the agency of UN, 'borrows' them back. What a predicament!

## Whose Fault Is It?

Yes but why is it so? Lets recall the following observation made in this column on 5 Jul 83:

Our educational system has been producing a type which can be described as 'citified' intelligentsia. As if that isn't bad enough we have been compounding it, from the Tanzimat onwards, by equating the notion of 'contemporary' with unqualified acceptance of Western values, having also declared 'a la franca' as an absolute prerequisite. Thus the bureaucratic Turkish intellectual is completely cut-off from the rural culture while considering the possession of ersatz cultural values as a condition of joining the 'elite'.

Out of these observations, I seem to be drawing the following conclusions on 19 Jul 83:

Doesn't this mean that Turkish children, succumbed to a mélange of American, French, English, and/or German influences all in the name of 'contemporary culture', have been 'co-opted'? ... And aren't we all aiding and abetting this 'co-optation' when we insist on giving priority to 'their' history, 'their' civilization and arts, always declaring the results of such comparisons in our disfavor? No wonder the so-called 'educated' intellectual begins seeing his national surroundings as inferior and becomes alienated. That is because the manners and refinement he seeks, the arts and literature he loves, the life he longs for do not exist in his 'national environment'! Where are they to be found, then? In the rarefied milieu of 'high' culture, of course. Maybe we can start tracing the brain 'drain' disaster down to its roots this way.

It is also difficult to endorse the view of the UN expert that there has been a decrease in the Turkish 'brain drain'. On the contrary, while previous losses were almost exclusively from the 'upper class' now due to the workers abroad and their children a significant drain has occurred among middle and lower stratas. Their formative environment happens to be totally 'foreign'!

Are we back to the question of 'Turkish identity' once again?

12466

CSO: 3554/172

SOCIAL

TURKEY

NEW SYSTEM FOR VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 6 Aug 86 p 7

[ Text ] From 15 Sep onwards vocational education will be based upon a new system borrowed from Germany. The system aims at reorienting 65 percent of today's youth into vocational education, leaving 35 percent in mainstream education. The present situation is the exact opposite of that. Over 60 percent of students are in mainstream education and only 40 percent in vocational education.

Minister of Education, Youth and Sport Metin Emiroglu explained to MILLIYET the principles of the new system which is among the latest legislation to come out of the Assembly and is due to take effect on 15 Sep. According to the minister, from 15 Sep onwards following policies will be implemented:

Two Days School, Three Days Work

Students coming out of secondary schools and entering the industrial, commercial and tourism vocational lycees will attend courses in the first year of their three-year education, spending half of the following two years working in a factory. In the second and third years students will go to school two days a week and during the next three days will be working in jobs related to their chosen occupations while receiving pay from the employers. However, while the pay will be determined by the employer it will be no less than one-third of the minimum wage, adjusted to the length of service and in consideration of its education function.

Employers To Offer Jobs Mandatory

For workplaces employing more than 50 workers it will become mandatory to employ students on a three-days-a-week basis. The number of students finishing secondary level at vocational lycees is expected to reach 40,000 this year. Employers will make 5 percent of the jobs in their total workforce available for the student/workers. There is a way out of this though: An employer may choose to deposit to the Apprenticeship and Vocational Technical Education Development Fund a monthly sum equivalent to two-thirds of the minimum wage for each student/worker not employed, as a sort of penalty.



## Money Accumulated in Fund

The main source of the Fund will be the shares issued to those filing Income and Corporation Tax forms at the rate of 1 percent of the said tax, as well as budget appropriations and monies from other sources, as it is done with other similar funds. The penalty-like fees, to be paid by employers not wanting to employ student/workers, will provide additional resources for the Fund.

The Fund will be used towards the opening and equipment of new vocational lycees and for the development of apprenticeship and vocational education. The Ministry reckons that starting next year the revenue accumulated in the Fund will bring about a great leap in vocational education.

Students graduating from industrial, commercial and tourism vocational lycees, having received one year of theoretical training and two years of combined course work and practical training, would have the option of entering the trade straight away and working for a year thereby becoming eligible for master status upon successfully passing the mastership test. But they also have the option of entering the university entrance examination and rejoining mainstream education. These two options will operate in a fashion similar to the Germans' double system.

## Apprenticeship

For those who do not want to go to secondary school but prefer to train in an occupation straight away, there is another system envisioned by the Ministry. Provided they are over 13 and under 19, such individuals will be designated as apprentices under following conditions: The candidate apprentices will receive general and vocational education not less than eight hours while working part-time. They will be given additional theoretical training in accordance with principles set out by the Ministry. After completing this stage the candidates will attain apprentice status and their education will continue under the apprenticeship agreement to be contracted with the employer. 3-4 years under this status and the apprentices will face the foremanship test thus becoming eligible for foreman status and the foremanship certificate. Another 3 years, under foreman status, and they will become eligible for the mastership test. It would still be possible for those choosing the apprenticeship option after primary school to rejoin mainstream education at lycee level provided they pass the examination.

## Vocational Schools

Among measures for developing vocational education are those pertaining to higher education. There are studies conducted within the Higher Education Council (HEC) framework which are directed to students who choose to attend higher vocational schools upon the completion of lycee. These students will be able to pursue their education partly at school

and partly on the job under the new system. A limited implementation will start at certain higher vocational schools this year in accordance with an agreement signed between the Turkish Educational Foundation and HEC.

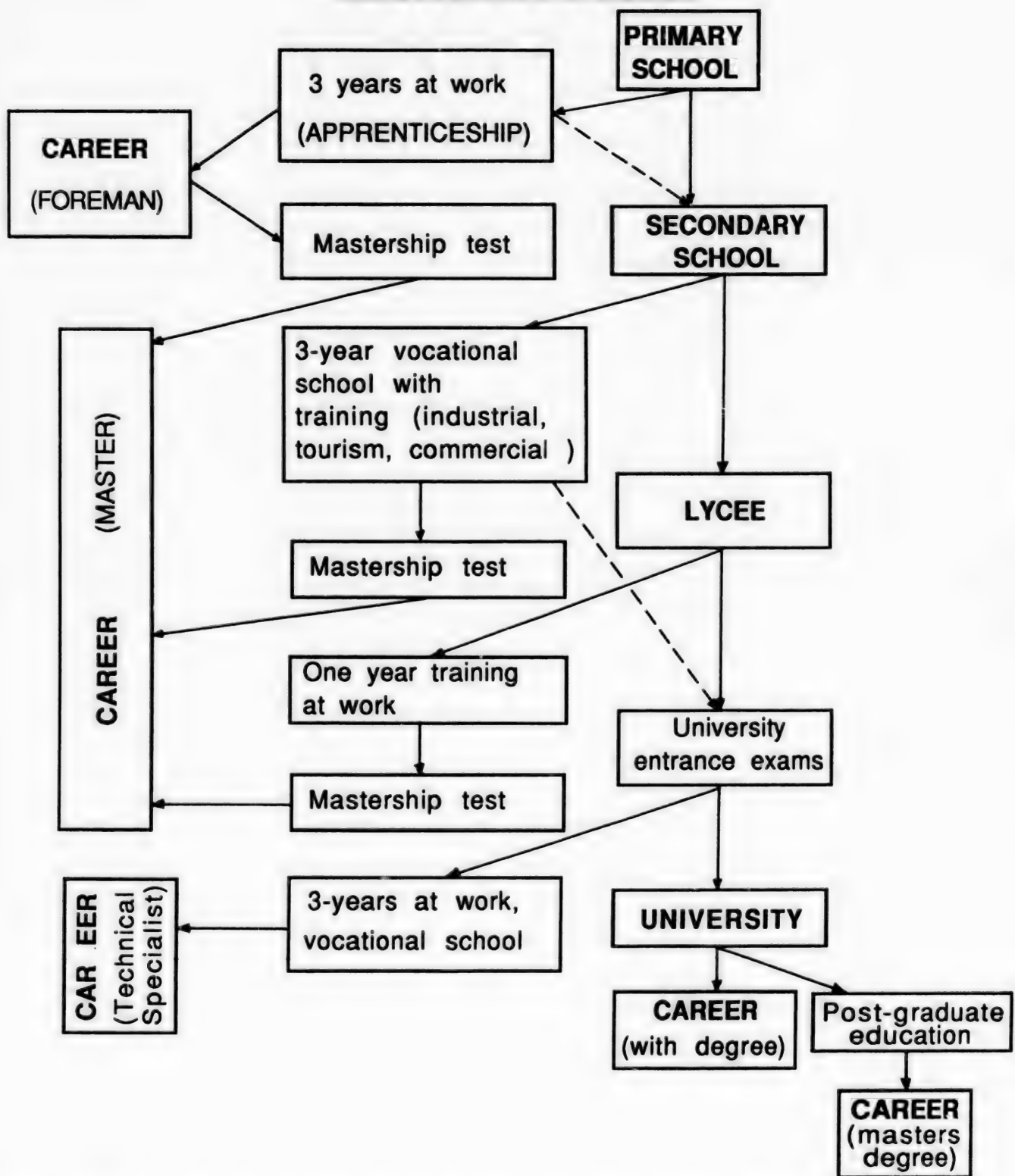
#### What Emiroglu Said

Explaining the main aspects of the new legislation Emiroglu said the following:

Those who partake in mainstream education, though they may have the diploma in their hand, do not find it so easy to get ahead in the business world. That is one of the reasons behind these structural changes. Rather than taking the factory to the school, we will be taking the school to the factory. In Turkey there is a distinct shortage of middle-level technical staff. There is more of a need for technicians and mechanics than for engineers. And we are not denying the option of rejoining mainstream education to those who have opted for vocational education. Those finishing vocational lycees will reserve the right to attend university but my feeling is that their chosen occupations will prove more attractive. I would say that 90 percent of them will not be going to the university.

Emiroglu described the Apprenticeship and Vocational Technical Education Development Fund as one of the most beneficial established so far. He quoted the German minister in charge of education affairs, saying: "We are not so rich as to educate our children at schools. We train them not in classrooms but on the factory floor." Pointing out that in many of the advanced countries of the world vocational education has become more widespread than mainstream education, Emiroglu declared that Turkey will be adopting the same course in the near future.

# CAREER PATH



*"Career path" will no longer be unilinear. Our mainstream educational model ---primary, secondary, lycee and university --- will be supplemented by multi-layered "horizontal passages" from 15 September onwards thus preparing young people for life in a more career-oriented manner.*

SOCIAL

TURKEY

# OZAL, MINISTRY SAID IN CONFLICT

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 3 Aug 86 p 9

[ Text ] A recent booklet published by the Department of Religious Affairs titled Special Information and Prayers for Prospective Pilgrims has rekindled the apparent contradiction between the Ministry of Finance and Customs' announcement regarding the foreign exchange situation and the prime minister's denial that a foreign exchange shortage exists. The booklet also specifies "the amount of alcohol that can be brought into the country."

In page 150 of the guidebook, under a section titled The Ministry of Finance and Customs Announcements to Prospective Pilgrims, the point is made that our country is in economic difficulties. This is followed by a list of precautionary advice.

While Prime Minister Turgut Ozal declares at every opportunity, that the "Turkish economy is on the right track, there is no foreign exchange shortage and those who say otherwise are lying", the Ministry's announcement, printed in the guidebook, contains the following lines: "It is not possible to supply as much foreign exchange as may be demanded by prospective pilgrims and other citizens wanting to travel abroad. Prospective pilgrims may not bring into the country anything other than personal effects and gifts."

## Amount of Alcohol Allowed

In the 'customs' section, page 152 of the Guidebook for Pilgrims published by the Department of Religious Affairs, another gaffe has been made. In this section, branded by some as an "example of frivolity and irresponsibility", it is noted that prospective pilgrims may be "allowed only five 1 litre bottles and seven 700ml bottles of alcoholic drinks" on their return home. It seems that the 'customs guide' was reviewed not even once before printing, was transferred from general regulations without any revision, and that nobody bothered to check the proofs. The 500,000 printed copies of the booklet, already distributed to the prospective pilgrims, was prepared by Irfan Yucel. Printed in 86, its selling price is TL 500.

12466  
CSO: 3554/175

SOCIAL

TURKEY

#### ASSEMBLY MEMBERS MAKE PILGRIMAGE

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 6 August 1986 pp 1, 21

[Text] Ankara -- Nine deputies, ages ranging between 35 and 79, flew to pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia yesterday. Having arrived in suits and ties they changed into flowing robes and sandalettes in a small room within in the VIP section of the Esenboga airport. The group, comprising of 7 deputies from MP and one deputy each from CWP and FDP, was given a send off at the airport by Minister of State Mesut Yilmaz, Minister of Education, Youth and Sport Metin Emiroglu, Minister of Culture and Tourism Mukerrem Tascioglu, deputies, friends and relatives. The one SPP member among the farewell party was Kenan Nehrozoglu, there to send off his fellow townsmen Mardin deputy Abdulkerim Yilmaz Erdem (FDP). The Mecca-bound deputies said their farewells commenting, "One might go and never come back."

#### First-Timers Anxious

Making the pilgrimage for the third time, 35-year old Engin Cansizoglu (MP) was giving tips to the first-timers. When oldest of the group 79-year old Ankara deputy Kamil Tugrul Coskunoglu made the joking remark that he "might need some help when stoning the devil" Erdem (FDP) promised to help him.

Five of the nine deputies are said to be beneficiaries of a program started in 84, their pilgrimage being sponsored jointly by the Department of Religious Affairs and Turkish Religious Foundation. In accordance with a 84 decision issued by the Council of Pilgrimage Affairs every year 5 deputies are to be sponsored this way "to give them a chance to make personal observation about the pilgrimage - all expenses paid jointly by the Department and the Foundation. Deputies thus sponsored: Kamil Tugrul Coskunoglu (MP Ankara, chairman of the Assembly constitutional commission), Hikmet Bicenturk (MP Icel), Alaettin Firat (MP Mus), Mahmut Altunakar (CWP Diyarbakir), Abdulkerim Yilmaz Erdem (FDP Mardin). Those paying for the trip themselves: Engin Cansizoglu (MP Zonguldak), Ziya Ercan (MP Konya), Akif Kocaman (MP Gumushane) and Fecri Alpaslan (MP Agri). The wives of MP deputies Coskunoglu, Ercan and Firat are with the travelling party. Also travelling to the sacred soil are Tayyar Altikulac, director of the Department of Religious Affairs, Assistant Director Lutfi Senturk, and Irfan Yucel, chairman of the Council of Religious Affairs. The deputies will be returning home on 22 Aug.



SOCIAL

TURKEY

#### ACTIVITIES OF PILGRIMS REPORTED

Istanbul MILLIYET in Turkish 20 Aug 86 pp 2, 14

[Text] Turkish pilgrims, having completed the Mecca part of the pilgrimage by stoning the devil in Mina for the third and last time have started heading for Medina. The obligatory circling of the Qaba, which comes after the sacred ritual at Arafat, Muzdelife and Mina, has already taken place. Upon returning to Mecca from Mina, our pilgrims have circled around the Qaba seven times with their guides ("mutavvif") leading, and then went to and from between Safa and Merva seven times thus completing the ritual.

From Qaba our pilgrims dispersed to their residences in various parts of Mecca, and devoted their time to prayer until the hour of departure for Medina. Meanwhile, the mobile hospitals and health centers, operating under the auspices of the Religious Affairs Department in the Arafat and Mina regions, also returned to Mecca.

The transportation of approximately 43,000 Turkish pilgrims to Medina has started the previous day. Officials from Religious Affairs have announced that the pilgrims would be travelling by bus to Medina, which is 460 kilometers away from Mecca, and be housed in residences once they get there. Following a visit to the gravesite of Prophet Mohammad, known as "Ravza-i Mutahhara", the return journey to Turkey will commence. Officials added that, "Those who are flying will return to Jedda while those travelling by bus will start off from Medina."

#### Photo Caption

1. Deputies with their wives -- Three of the nine deputies, in Saudi Arabia for the pilgrimage, had brought their wives along. From left to right: Ziya Ercan (MP - Konya), Kamil Tugrul Coskunoglu (MP - Ankara, chairman of the Assembly Constitutional Commission), Iffet Coskunoglu, Sidika Ercan, Aynur Firat, Alaattin Firat (MP -Mus).



SOCIAL

TURKEY

#### FUNDAMENTALISTS ABROAD DISAGREE ON IDEOLOGY

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 20 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] Ankara -- Reactionary elements operating outside the country with the aim of establishing a regime in Turkey based upon Islamic fundamental law (shari'a) have turned upon each other due to ideological differences. The organisation called "National Outlook", established among Turkish workers in Germany, Austria, Belgium and Holland, has been fractured into two halves due to disagreement among its officials.

It is reported by authoritative sources that a certain group of reactionaries were outraged by the spate of appointments, at leadership level, in the National Outlook -- i.e. an Iraqi doctor of Turkish origin Yusuf Zeynel Abidin became leader of the organisation, while Dr. Uveydi was appointed as his assistant, and Hasan Damar was brought in as secretary general. The last straw was the news that Secretary General Hasan Damar had gone to Russia together with the chairman of the defunct Turkish Labor Party, Behice Boran, presently residing outside the country.

#### Most Important Man Arrested

The arrest is reported of Osman Coskun who, having occupied very high positions in the Labor and Employment Organisation, had gone abroad and worked as a preacher in mosques founded by the National Outlook, also joining the Union of Islamic Associations and Religious Societies. Coskun was arrested while secretly trying to enter the country.

12466  
CSO: 3554/176

SOCIAL

TURKEY

## FUNDAMENTALIST PROPAGANDA IN GREETING CARDS, VIDEOS

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 16 Aug 86 p 3

[Text] Having seen "reactionary" propaganda conducted through video and cassettes, now we are seeing "calls to rebellion" trumpeted by greeting cards. Cards are sold in town squares, without any controls, bearing inflammatory inscriptions like, "Surely there must be a way of dying like a Moslem in a place where it is not possible to live like one."

### Inadequate Controls

Reactionary forces have been able to make good use of the greeting card business in line with their political aims quite freely during the Sacrifice Festival season, owing to an absence of adequate controls. On the racks, alongside the scenery postcards are found cards inciting the people to rebellion, against the "regime and the Republic". On some of the cards there are pictures of Afghan mujahids with the words "We may not need mujahids but you might need a jihad (holy war)."

People are truly amazed when they first see the cards which can be considered little manifestos or a "call to rebellion". Looking at the cards with astonishment they say, "Even greeting cards are used with ulterior motives. Some individuals are openly trying to divide and sow dissension amongst our people."

12466  
CSO: 3554/176

SOCIAL

TURKEY

#### WESTERN CONCERN OVER ISLAMIC RESURGENCE

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 21-27 Jul 86 pp 30-31

[Text] Why is the West concerned about Turkey? Why does it half-heartedly point out that our interests lie with the Western camp while implying at every opportunity that we are Easterners and that the further away we stand from them better it would be? Why do they impose visa requirements and hardships on Turks at their border crossing points while deluding us with remarks such as "you act as my forward sentry against the threat from the north and do not worry about the rest"?

The Westerners do not believe that Turkey has made a full transition to democracy in the classical sense. They point out at every opportunity that democracy in Turkey still lacking in many ways.

They claim that historically Turkey has not been governed by stable governments, that the country has gone into decline because of sterile political activities and politicians who have never truly endorsed democracy and that consequently democracy is frequently interrupted. Beyond these, there is another prospect that unsettles them and makes them apprehensive: the growing strength of the radical Islamic groups in Turkey and activities aimed at establishing an Islamic regime in Turkey similar to those in Saudi Arabia and Iran. This has been deeply dismaying the Westerners. This vision, which has been unsettling both the West and us, surfaced openly at the Summer Assembly of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Council in Istanbul in recent weeks. European politicians used every opportunity to establish contact with Turks they met and queried them to gather information about our country. The most frequent questions concerned the influence of radical religious groups in Turkey. We are certain that they did not receive satisfactory answers or answers which agree with their views. They took their suspicions with them.

#### Surprising Pictures

It is not only the left-wing politicians who criticize the regime in Turkey and who are intimidated by radical religious movements. Right-leaning parliamentarians, particularly Christian Democrats, have also expressed concern. A German Christian Democratic parliamentarian showered a female hotel employee with questions, told her that he finds her attire and behavior very modern and that he did not think they could find such things in Turkey.

The same parliamentarian could not help saying that there are 10 times as many men on Turkey's streets than women. He even said that he saw the picture of a bearded man in Turkish newspapers that day and asked whether he was the new leader of Turkey's fundamentalists. By coincidence, that day one newspaper had published a large picture of Adnan Hoca on its front page. The German parliamentarian went so far as to think that he is [former National Salvation Party leader Necmettin] Erbakan's representative.

Swedish journalist Hjerten, who was in our country at the invitation of the Council of Europe, gathered information about Turkey rather than covering the conference. Apparently, the news agency he was affiliated with had instructed him to do so. He told the Turkish colleagues he could get hold of: "I heard that there is a dervish lodge in Eyup and that religious rites are held there nightly. Would you please take me there?" The pitch of his pleadings reached a point when one Turkish journalist agreed to take him there. But the Turkish journalist did not know about this lodge in Eyup. After investigating the matter for some time he agreed to take the Swedish reporter there. Everyone he talked to in Eyup told him that such a place did not exist and that they had only heard about a Koranic course. In any case, the activities of the said Koranic course beyond its stated purpose had been halted by the Religious Affairs Chairmanship.

#### U.S. Apprehension

The allegation that radical religious groups are active in Turkey has caused deep apprehension in the United States. Both the White House and the CIA are scrutinizing this issue carefully and have expressed concern over the growth of the Islamic movement. Of course, the United States sees the issue from a different standpoint. Turkey is a Middle Eastern country. It has a secular government. This characteristic sets it apart from Arab countries. Consequently, its relations with Israel may improve in the near future. Although Turkey and Israel do not have ambassadorial level diplomatic relations at the moment, these relations may be improved in the future and Israel may be rescued from its isolation in the region. The CIA and the Pentagon have submitted numerous reports on this issue to the White House.

Even the European conservative parties, which have praised the economic policies of the Ozal government lavishly, have criticized Ozal for not opposing the extremist religious groups sufficiently and for harboring in his party parliamentary deputies and politicians who have made concessions to such groups.

#### Evren: 'Women Should Not Veil Their Faces'

Last week, the President brought a certain measure of clarity to this controversy. President Kenan Evren spoke about the attire of women in Erzurum and its environs where he has gone to work during part of the summer. He said that the practice of covering the women's faces with veils has nothing to do with Islam and that women open their faces during Haj. At one point he even indirectly cautioned Prime Minister Ozal.

About the same time, Ozal said: "There is democracy in Turkey. We cannot interfere in people's attires." In a speech the next day, Evren said:

"Should we allow everyone freedom on the issue of dress, so that the fez may return and everyone wears turbans?" Various circles interpreted these remarks as a veiled response to Ozal.

The refusal of the Westerners to hear these modern views of the person occupying the highest office in the Turkish Republic and their insistence to see a few local religious activities as evidence for their suspicions has naturally unsettled the Turkish public.

On some issues, the Westerners view even Ozal with suspicion. For example, they point out that his brother was a parliamentary deputy and cabinet minister of the defunct National Salvation Party [NSP], that he still has trade relations with Arab countries and that even Ozal himself was a NSP parliamentary candidate from Izmir. They state at every occasion that Mehmet Kececiler, a deputy leader of the Motherland Party [MP], is a former NSP mayor of Konya and that his supporters are highly influential in the MP. The reendorsement by the National Assembly of a law unilaterally permitting the sale of property to Arabs is seen as proof of their suspicions.

Article 2 of the Constitution states: "The Turkish Republic is a democratic and secular government of social law which is based on the basic principles stated at the beginning, which remains loyal to Ataturk's nationalism and which respects human rights within the framework of social peace, national solidarity and justice." Article 10 of the Constitution says: "Everyone is equal before the law regardless of language, race, color, sex, political beliefs, philosophical beliefs, religion, sect and other characteristics." However, these articles are not found satisfactory by the West. The West is concerned that Khomeynis may breed in Turkey and seize the government.

9588

CSO: 3554/26



SOCIAL

TURKEY

## SECULARISM SAID TO BE EMBATTLED

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 16 Aug 86 p 2

[Article by Iskender Ozturanli, lawyer with the Izmir Bar Association]

[Text] The Turkish person, the Turkish intellectual, the Turkish thinker has been asking the following question of himself for years: Where are we going? He then turns and asks the same question of the politicians: Where are you going and what do you intend to do?

During the 1950's the late Yasar Nabi Nayir dealt with this issue quite extensively. The question then was, "Where are we going and at which point of the dark night do we find ourselves?" Nayir examined the probable costs of deviating from Ataturk and Ataturkism in a detailed fashion. Nobody seems to have listened. The government of the day managed to do away, in a few months, with what had been introduced by Ataturk. Turkish society had to go through some bitter times. First the Arabic call to prayer started emanating out of the minarets. The longings of former times -- which found poetic expression in the stanza, "A country where the call to prayer is in Turkish/ Where the villager understands the meaning of the prayer" -- faded away. Then the fortresses of the Ataturk revolution -- People's Houses, People's Hearths, Village Institutes -- were demolished. They have not been replaced. The Turkish youth, the Turkish peasant were left in a vacuum.

And "Nature abhors a vacuum." The vacuum created by reactionaries would be filled by progressives, and the vacuum created by progressives would be filled by reactionaries. Unfortunately, with the probable exception of one or two years during the 27 May revolution, the vacuum has always been filled by the reactionaries in our country since 50. Somehow it has not been possible to establish the hegemony of the progressives. The longings of Ataturk has gone unfulfilled.



Ataturk had started out by founding the secular state, and he was quite successful in that. Those in charge of the state administration used to apply the same laws to themselves as it applied to others in matters relating to exploitation of religion and the introduction of religious sentiments into the political arena.

The question of the secular state and secular law is an issue of who is in charge. So long as the administrative echelons are composed of steadfast people, that would suffice to resolve the problem. As to the question of secularism in society, that is a social issue. For its realization it would be necessary for all stratas of society to espouse the secular mentality.

Had we been able to march in the footsteps, the path of Ataturk no doubt we would have brought about the secular society. And we could have reached "the level of contemporary civilization". But we did not walk along that path, or we were not able to. With votes in mind we have given concessions from secularism, and went backwards instead of forwards. Getting further away from the concept the modern state we become a state where religion weighs heavy. And we have occasionally endangered the secular state in the process. This danger has acquired larger dimensions today as compared to previous periods.

The 1982 Constitution, despite its negative aspects regarding basic freedoms, has brought a positive bent to the issue of attaining the secular state and society. The 1961 Constitution merely specifies that "the constitutional clause stipulating the form of state as a republic cannot be changed, or even proposed that it be changed" (clause 9), whereas the 1982 Constitution has brought the stipulation that not only the republic but also the principle of secularism cannot be changed, or even proposed that it be changed (clause 4). But, despite these safeguards, in the real world the principle of secularism has been trampled upon in an unprecedented manner during the last few years. And by successive governments themselves. Compulsory religion courses in primary and secondary schools, efforts to introduce Arabic to the lycee curriculum, forcing our young women to wear long skirts and trousers during the 19 May Youth and Sports Festival -- all these happen to be the product of such a mentality.

Those who start out with that mentality would no doubt convert certain rooms in municipality buildings, ministries and other official organizations into prayer halls. They would attempt to establish mosques in the garden of the General Assembly or at international trade fairs. Mandatory fasting would be introduced, and the speaker of the Assembly would hold pre-fast and break-fast dinners inside the Assembly building together

with other deputies. International conferences would be opened with religious incantations -- "Bismillah" -- and the national anthem would be followed by verses from the Koran.

Illegal religious education has spread all around. Educational establishments, where wearing the 'takke' (oriental headgear) and the 'shalvar' (loose pantaloons) is the norm, are being financed by municipalities. Koran courses, some secret and some operating behind a facade, can be found all over the country. The number of students wearing chador and headscarf is increasing every single day. Those who want the Shari'a reintroduced, followers of the Nur sect, Naqshibendis, followers of the Suleyman sect are all free to roam around the country. While newly-introduced legislation, 'Encouragement of Social Aid and Solidarity', is directed towards the welfare of the poor, the same framework allows the establishment of religious foundations with all authority vested in men of religion. From now on, poor people in a district will be specified by religious officials. This is the first instance of such a responsibility being given to men of religion since the founding of the republic. Religious officials who until now have been charged exclusively with providing religious services will be used in running the affairs of the state. This is a heavy blow to the secular republic of Ataturk.

12466  
CSO: 3554/176

SOCIAL

TURKEY

# PSYCHIATRIST DENOUNCES FALSE RELIGIOUS TEACHING

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 3 Aug 86 pp 11, 19

[Interview with Professor Mualla Ozturk, Ankara University Faculty of Medicine, by correspondent Emin Colasan; date and place not specified]

[Question] Professor, you are a specialist in child psychology. You have scientifically established that mental illnesses are produced in little children, even very small children, due to a misconceived religious education. How does this happen?

[Answer] Mr. Colasan, in our clinical observations at the child psychiatry department we have noticed a notable increase in the number of children attending religious education establishments, licensed or unlicensed. Due to a misconceived fear of God that is instilled in them, and misconceptions disseminated in the Koran courses and in our schools even very small children have started coming to us. This, of course, is a sorry state of affairs. We don't recall children this small being brought to us before. Nowadays even 4-5 year old children are being brought by their parents.

[Question] To what do you attribute this?

[Answer] In recent years clandestine religious education has been on the increase. In certain Koran courses, children are being taught mistaken notions about religion and are getting frightened as a result.

[Question] What kind of symptoms do you observe?

[Answer] Heavy mental symptoms. Overanxiety, lack of inner peace, depression, certain fixations, compulsive behavior like perpetual handwashing, spitting, touching here and there, constant speaking, shouting and screaming, hitting and breaking things. In short all kinds of deviant behavior. When we look more closely we see that at the bottom of all these is "an excessive fear of God" instilled in the children. Of course, families are also largely responsible for this.

[Question] How is the fear of God instilled in the children?

[Answer] It is done to enforce discipline among children. For instance a child who doesn't eat or sleep, or engages in mischief is told, "God sees you. He will shortly punish you. God will turn you into stone. God will burn you in hell." These are quite frightening things for children. Adults are thus exploiting the child's propensity towards being easily frightened. And it is not only the fear of God. A child who has done some mischief is told things like, "Bring my jackknife so that I will circumcise him, put him into the snake-filled room, throw him into the bottomless pit." In fact, all forms of fear have harmful mental effects. But children can find ways and means to escape from or overcome known and visible forms of fear. For instance they can avoid the fear of punishment by behaving nicely. They can mollify their fear of animals by staying away from them. However, the most effective forms of fear, both for children and for adults, are those which are unknown, invisible, insidious, and seemingly inevitable -- e.g. microbes, illnesses, death, disasters and so on. But above all else are misconceived notions and fear of God.

[Question] How is the fear of God being instilled?

[Answer] As I mentioned before, from the time the child starts walking he is confronted with the concept of 'God'. Many adults say things like, "God turns into stone those who don't listen to their mother...burns in hellfire those who don't eat their food...cuts the tongue of liars." All this has the effect of instilling a misconstrued notion and fear of God. The natural curiosity of the child propels him to investigate who this God is that he has heard so much about, and where it is to be found, and what it looks like. But he cannot yet understand these abstract notions. What the child hears about God only serves to frighten him.

[Question] Have you been asking these children, brought to you for therapy, what their conception of God is?

[Answer] Of course we do. The most common answer is this: "God is everywhere. He sees us and hears us. He knows our wrongdoings. He will most certainly hand out our punishment when we die, or maybe before that." We had a 3-year old patient who used to say: "God is on the ceiling. God does not want me to do any mischief." He then grabbed a toy gun and started firing towards the ceiling. When we asked him what he was doing he said, "The enemy does not love God, they are firing at him." He was pretending to be the enemy firing at God because he would not dare do it himself. If he did God would be angry with him. We have another patient, a 4-year old. He often interrupts his meals or play, gets up and salutes with his head. Making him

talk with our playacting method we arrived at the following conclusion: The child wants to hit back at God who is constantly watching him. But fearing that God will punish him because the all-knowing God knows all about these inner feelings and thoughts, he feels the need to placate God after every urge to do him harm. So he salutes God with his head. We talked about this condition with the child's parents. We learned that his grandfather tries to prevent any undesirable action on the part of the child by invoking the fear of God, and that he often narrates religious stories to him. All this means that a misconceived fear of God is being instilled in children from an early age. In their eyes God becomes something to be feared, someone who is capable of all kinds of harm. This goes on throughout their growing years. They see God as a dangerous being from whose wrath it is impossible to flee. This is dead wrong.

[Question] Professor, are we saying that in Turkey children are being fed with a misconceived image of God?

[Answer] Most certainly, yes. Instead of being presented as a being to be loved, respected, or as someone who can do good things, who can protect and reward, God is introduced as an evil concept. Children are fed the idea of a God which punishes even the most innocent acts, and they subsequently become mentally sick. "If you don't love mother, God would punish you", is one form. It is natural for a child not to love his mother from time to time. Another example, "If you don't eat your meal, God will turn you into stone." A child, almost by definition, cannot be expected to eat his meals every time.

[Question] What actually takes place inside the child under such circumstances?

[Answer] What would happen when you continually frighten the child with a concept? He would not love the source of that fear. Thus the child begins to have negative feelings towards God. Anger is accompanied by illnesses. A need to curse God and other fixations take hold in his mind. Then panic sets in because he knows he is thinking about God whom he fears so much. The expected punishment from God causes him to panic. One cannot overstate how profound this fear and panic is. The child no longer wants to play, learn, eat or drink. He begins holding on to the skirt of his mother (or the kilt of his father!). Let me give you an example. An 11-year old boy, a boarding student at a Koran course, comes home for the holidays. On the very first night he goes into a panic seizure due to anxiety, great discomfort and invisible fears. The parents brought the child to us. Our examination revealed the following: The child was supposed to go shopping with his father. But when the father went out without taking him he felt deep anger inside. But



since feeling angry towards the father is a sin and thus punishable by God, he started asking, "When will God punish me?" After a while this turned into panic. They brought us the child a week later. He had lived in this condition throughout the week. I'll give you another example. They brought us a 14-year old girl who was a day-student in a Koran course. She was complaining about the bad thoughts stuck in her mind, and her attendant fears. She used to wash her hands compulsively, could not go outside the house, couldn't watch TV, was constantly apathetic, had trouble sleeping. During examination she told us about her fears of "visual fornication". They had explained in the Koran course what visual fornication meant. I first heard of the expression from that girl. Afraid of visual fornication, she avoided eye contact with people on her way from school to her home, and to ensure that she walked with downcast eyes. In the Koran course she was fed with the idea that viewing men on the TV screen also constitutes visual fornication. So she began listening to the musical programs on TV from the adjoining room without looking at the screen. During examination it transpired that this child wanted to become a singer. But due to an excessive amount of self-repression she was seized by panic and consequently was brought to us.

[Question] Very interesting. Well, professor, what kind of education should parents be giving to their small children so as to maintain their mental health?

[Answer] Here I would like to send a message to the parents. The earlier they start giving religious education the more risk they create for their children. This is especially true below the age seven.

[Question] Well, what is the ideal religious education for children then?

[Answer] First of all it is necessary to present God as a being which rewards rather than punishes, and which loves, protects and forgives. And religious education should never stand in the way of mental development. For this there is a need for competent teachers of religious education.

[Question] Can you tell us anything about the present educators? Generally speaking, that is.

[Answer] Shall I give you an example?

[Question] Of course, please go ahead.

[Answer] Some of our patients, though not attending Koran courses, have taken religion courses at the primary and secondary schools. We are told of an instance where an

instructor of religion had said, in the classroom: "Even the earth rejects the corpse of a sinner. Such corpses stay out in the open." He also told the following story in class. A sinner dies, so they bury him. But at that instant the earth starts shaking and ejects him out. However hard they try to bury him the earth still ejects him out. This is an instance of what has been happening in religion courses. A child from that class came to us as a patient. We had to administer therapy to him. Yet another example: A religion instructor tells a story that God has three angels one of which is responsible for announcing the doomsday. The angel is supposed to blow a whistle just before doomsday arrives. After hearing the story the child was becoming sick whenever he heard the sound of a whistle. He would not go out lest he hears a whistle, won't allow the door opened, would not even watch TV or listen to the radio. I happen to believe that there are many good things that could be taught these children in religion courses. Instead of instilling fear and disgust they should be presenting the beautiful and loving aspects of religion. The last two instances I mentioned, unfortunately, are examples of religion instructors at our state schools. Their misconceived teachings are responsible not only for making the children sick but also constitute disrespect to our religion and to God. Isn't that so? Aren't these things unfair to God? We are simply planting the seeds of fear, reinforce the impulse to curse and swear, foster timidity and hate. Humans don't love the things they fear. They avoid things they fear and try to eliminate them. This is a law of nature. Anything otherwise contrevenes the laws of nature. I mean to say that let our children receive religious instruction but it is absolutely necessary to do away with this kind of fanatic teaching that inspires nothing but fear and disgust.

[Question] Professor, what kind of numbers are we talking about regarding cases brought to your attention concerning fear of God?

[Answer] I have brought some statistics with me. We have studied 2,000 primary school children -- not our patients, regular school children. 54 percent of them have a pernicious fear of God.

[Question] The kind that we have been talking about?

[Answer] Yes. That is quite a high proportion, unfortunately. Another study was made among our patients which indicated that 70 percent of them are subject to the same fear. Though certainly not responsible for every kind of illness, fear of God instilled in children is a leading cause of mental illness. I am trying to demonstrate this to you using scientific data.

[Question] Well, professor, what about those small children who find themselves in Koran courses taught by individuals with very questionable credentials, and are left to the mercy of local preachers? Could it be that these children, in the clutches of that ignorant and fanatic mob, may have been suffering more damage than the rest?

[Answer] Yes, there are more of them that come to us. Pre-school children are coming...One of them was brought to us with complaints of excessive crying, sleeplessness, lack of appetite, clinging to the mother, trying to keep the mother from moving about. She would not allow anyone to talk to the mother, crying, "Talk only to me. I'm not swearing at God, am I? I'm not a bad girl, am I?" During examination it transpired that there was a tower near her house where an intermittent light flickered, changing from red to green. At home the child was together with her grandparents quite often. Apparently the grandfather had told her, "When the light is red that means God doesn't love you because you committed some wrong. When the light is green it means God loves you." Poor child had become a wreck watching the lights turn red and green.

[Question] Are there many Preacher School students that come to you?

[Answer] Yes many. Teachers telling strange and frightful stories are found there too. They manage to put the children off education and off the concept of God. That is obvious loud and clear.

[Question] Professor, so far we have talked about religious education. You have explained that certain errors, deliberate or unknowing, can have very negative effects on children. Are there things that have negative effects on the mental well-being of children other than religious education?

[Answer] There is also the problem of harmful publications. Harmful to children, that is. Of course, the responsibility lies with the press and TV. We have many children coming to us who have been upset by what they read in newspapers, or watch on TV. We observe some very negative developments in this area.

[Question] Like what, professor?

[Answer] For instance, we see headlines and news items like 'Famous Mafia Godfathers'. Essentially worthless individuals are being presented with large headlines and pictures as if they were somebody. What is the purpose of all this? I am not able to say. Children receive very negative influences from such publications. The Mafia godfather image exerts a pull over children -- maybe not all but many of them. Murders, sexual

publications. The Mafia godfather image exerts a pull over children -- maybe not all but many of them. Murders, sexual perversions, rapes and crime stories are being printed with large headlines and color pictures. Is our press fully conscious of the potential damage in all this?

[Question] I don't think so, not at all. Unfortunately, some newspapers indulge in sensationalism to whip up sales.

[Answer] Anything that is good or beautiful, any news item that may provide an example for children either isn't printed, or if it is, gets squeezed into one column.

[Question] How do such news items affect children -- take murder stories for example?

[Answer] There are subconscious suggestions. Particularly when our press prints the story as if the murder was an act of heroism...

[Question] How come?

[Answer] Lets say it is a crime of passion. Saw his mother with a man and killed either of them. Presenting this man as a hero would make it an attractive option for children reading such stories. It would increase the child's propensity to crime. Let me give you another example. We have lately been seeing in our newspapers, particularly during the report card season, certain admonitions such as: "Be careful with your children, they may commit suicide." And do you know that after the appearance of such items in the press suicides among children, particularly the smaller ages, have increased? What the press is doing is reminding the child of such things. In a certain sense, to the child, such admonitions come to mean, "If your report card is bad, commit suicide and thereby punish your mother and father."

[Question] What about TV, how does it manage to be harmful?

[Answer] Mr. Colasan, our children are being given a wrong cultural injection by the TV series which have nothing to do with our culture. I don't know whether you've read it. It is reported in the press that in many parts of Anatolia, children are being named after Sue Ellen, Pamela. What could the children do when adults start identifying with TV heroines? The child takes after his mother, father and his immediate environment. Though such things do not upset his mental balance they nevertheless affect his development in undesirable ways.

[Question] We are also watching murders, bank robberies in the films on TV. How do these affect children?

[Answer] Of course, the influences could hardly be positive. Serial films are more significant in this respect. TV series are more dangerous. A child sees a movie once and then forgets about it. But just think of it, our TV has been showing series like **Dallas** and **Flamingo Road** to the Turkish people for weeks on end. Millions of our children have also been exposed to the evil goings on in these shows. This is nothing short of transplanted of a foreign culture to Turkish society.

[Question] Now that our government has opened up Turkey to the world these are only to be expected, aren't they? Our economy is tied to the outside world, our money is tied to the dollar, our prestige is tied to IMF reports... What's wrong with a little cultural bondage? In watching the J.R. of **Dallas** at least we are reminded of the bribers amongst ourselves, and those rogues who con the state treasury and get away scot free! I will ask, professor, one more thing. Our government has declared many publications as 'harmful'. For instance, it is now forbidden to show women's nipples in pictures. They are now covered with stripes. Are these kind of pictures really harmful for children?

[Answer] No, it does not affect as much as the other things I mentioned earlier. After all it is only a picture, not a continuous scene. The child takes one look at it and moves on to the next thing.

[Question] Adults also know this but they are playing to the voters. They took this decision as a vote-getter.

[Answer] I have never seen a child becoming ill on account of seeing the picture of a semi-nude woman.

[Question] Is it possible that nude pictures of women may, in fact, have a positive influence?

[Answer] I don't quite follow. How could it be positive?

[Question] I don't know either. I am simply asking your opinion. Well, for example, adults are known to shore up their morale by looking at such pictures, so similar effects might conceivably take place in children.

[Answer] I really don't know. I have no scientific data or research findings available. But I do know that children would look at these pictures and move on.

[Question] Mrs. Ozturk, I would also like to ask the following. A subject that is continually being taught at our schools is that of Ataturk. Every student, no matter which grade, is taught about Ataturk. Ataturk is ever-present on TV and radio,



often several times a day. I wonder whether there are any problems associated with Ataturk that might affect the children's mental health.

[Answer] You have touched upon a very important subject. I do not recall a child seeking therapy due to an Ataturk-related situation. I will give you an example though. We were treating a child having problems at school. During the treatment the subject of Ataturk came up. Complaining about classes he said, "If I open my mouth Ataturk will flow out through my teeth." Of course this was an extremely rude statement. But if you ask me, he wasn't the one responsible for it. I wonder how we presented Ataturk to this child. How did we approach him in our effort to make him love Ataturk so that the child had become like that?

[Question] Yes, why?

[Answer] And why not? The child was 13-14 years old. We had been trying to teach a generation, far removed in years, about Ataturk. It is quite natural for us to try. It is our duty to try. But it is also a question of method and style. How are we teaching our children about Ataturk? We start with 6-year olds in primary school. We make them memorize the major events of Ataturk's life, from cradle to grave, along with 20-30 historical dates. We make reference to the 1800's, 1900's addressing schoolchildren barely grappling with two-digit numbers in mathematics. We tell them to learn and memorize these dates. That is far beyond their mental capacity, and consequently, they view Ataturk not as the savior of the fatherland but someone who causes hardships for them. This is repeated year after year, every time losing further in importance and dignity. So our efforts in teaching Ataturk to young generations becomes counter-productive. As you know, there are two major principles in education: One is, knowledge which is hard to acquire is difficult to love and learn. And the second, a subject repeated too often loses its attraction. As I mentioned earlier, in reference to God, one could either teach by inducing willingness and liking, or ram down their throats. We forget we are teaching primary school students whose concept of numbers does not exceed between 20-29. Ataturk was born in 1881 and died in 1938 -- these dates have to be memorized. These are numbers the child has never heard of and they confuse the child. Would a child love a subject which is so hard for him? These subjects should be fine-tuned according to age, level and willingness to learn.

[Question] Professor, the same thing applies to us adults as well. We hear about Ataturk on TV every day whether warranted or not. Although we love him with full awareness, even we sometimes feel like screaming, "Enough!"

[Answer] Of course... This happens to us as well. You can be assured that I know what is being taught at these schools. If we take a child who doesn't know anything about Ataturk -- who he is, what he has done -- and give him an assignment of 20-30 historical events to be memorized subject to examination you shouldn't be surprised when you hear him say, upon reaching age 13, that Ataturk would spurt through his teeth if he were to open his mouth. I was personally very offended by that instance but I did not get angry with the child. I pitied him.

[Question] What other factors are there, apart from what we have already discussed, that are causing problems for children?

[Answer] The education system is causing a lot of problems for them. The system is based upon memorization. No production of new ideas... Of course we see the results all around. There is a pervasive apathy towards school. School for children is a place where they have to go. Unfortunately, children do not like school. Actually there should be close coordination between schools and psychiatry clinics. Instead, most teachers are preventing children from coming to us. The interesting thing is that this reaction comes more from teachers of schools catering to wealthier students. Teachers of poor students bring the children themselves.

[Question] Professor, finally, what would be your message concerning the fear of God we talked about earlier? What are you to say to parents and instructors of religion courses?

[Answer] Human beings don't love the things they fear. They avoid what they fear. Parents and instructors are going against their ostensible purpose when they instill fear of God in their children. They should be instilling not fear of God but love of God. Fear of God not only upsets the children mentally but helps foster negative sentiments and thoughts toward God. Religion instructors, if they feel love and respect for Islam, are obliged to ensure that children learn about our religion willingly and with love. If methods of fear are used then the child would follow the courses just to get a passing mark, without any liking or willingness. He would then lose his respect for God and religion. These were the scientific findings of our study conducted among children -- both the healthy and the mentally upset ones.

[Question] I thank you for these very interesting explanations.

12466  
CSO: 3554/175

SOCIAL

TURKEY

## SPECIAL POLICE FOR STRIKE CONTROL

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 5 Sep 86 pp 3, 19

[Text] Ankara -- A special security force will be maintained for use during strikes and lock-outs, and all the events and negotiations will be voice-recorded or filmed whenever necessary. The regulations, prepared by the Ministry of the Interior, specifying measures to be taken during strikes and lock-outs were published in the Official Gazette and came into effect yesterday. Accordingly, local administrations will maintain a special security force at the ready and with a capability to intervene should it be necessary during strikes and lock-outs. The force would be kept at the locale where events might break out. If necessary, actions during strikes and lock-outs, as well as negotiations between the parties would be recorded by voice recording instruments, photo or movie cameras. The regulations give authority to governors and district governors for establishing a 'Strike and Lock-out Consultative Council' concerned with necessary measures and their implementation. The Council would be discussing probable events during a strike or lock-out, as well as the necessities and deficiencies.

Furthermore, governors and district governors will prepare, depending on the particularities of each workplace, either a separate plan for every workplace or a general framework of measures concerning strikes and lock-outs, and will be authorized to send the plan to the commander of the military unit in closest proximity. During strikes and lock-outs, local security forces will be used initially, and if they prove inadequate commando units of the gendarmerie will be brought into action.

### Yilmaz's Reaction

Sevket Yilmaz, chairman of Turk-Is (Turkish Confederation of Labor) has reacted strongly to the regulations prepared by the Ministry of the Interior, 'On Measures To Be Taken by Civil Authorities During Strikes and Lock-Outs'. Said Yilmaz: "Turkey is fast becoming a police state."

SOCIAL

TURKEY

#### HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION FOUNDED

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 21-27 Jul 86 p 25

[Text] "The Peasants Will Be Indexed," "The Students Will Be Indexed," "Hunger Strike at the Adana Prison," "30 Death Incidents at the Diyarbakir Military Prison," "The Confessions of Torturer Police Officer Sedat Caner," "Surprise Witness at the Siddik Bilgin Trial." The issue of human rights, which has been discussed in these and other similar news stories for a long time, has persisted on the political agenda of Turkey and the West. The persistence of the controversy and the failure to take satisfactory measures have led to a new initiative on this issue: The Human Rights Association.

The work to found the Human Rights Association began 2 to 3 months ago. The participants in this work ranged from intellectuals--so called because of the Intellectuals' Petition--to members of the Association of the Families of the Arrested and Convicted and the defunct Modern Lawyers Association. Although at the outset it was planned to have a broad-based participation, the group of founders was kept limited out of concerns that the completion of all founders' documents would take time and practical problems could crop up. Thus numerous individuals who wanted to be founders were excluded. It is expected that this large group will become members of the association later on.

The latest founders' list has 98 founders. Ten of these founders, including attorneys Nevzat Helvaci and Erbil Tusalp, applied to the Office of the Governor of Ankara to form the Human Rights Association and submitted the necessary forms to Deputy Governor Cengiz Bulut. When a receipt for the forms was not given, Bulut said: "We only record them here. The receipts are given by the Security Directorate." When Bulut said that many associations have been formed recently and that, however, they were later closed, Nevzat Helvaci said: "Please do not talk about closing down so soon."

While the group of founders was leaving the Office of the Governor, it was observed that an official at the exit ensured that they walk out one by one thus helping the plainclothes policemen to film them on videotape.

After the association is granted the status of a corporation it will be able to open branches in various Turkish cities and will be able to register members.

The association's Founders' Council elected the following members to the General Administrative Council: Nevzat Helvacı (General President), Leman Firtına (Deputy General President), Akin Birdal (Secretary General), Aykut Bascil (Deputy Secretary General), Vecihi Timuroglu (General Treasurer), Nuri Karacan, Bekir Doganay, Ibrahim Acan, Erbil Tusalp, Gulden Akin, Saziment Sulekoglu. The members elected to the Supervisory Council are: Ali Bozkurt, Julide Gulizar and Izzet Eray. The members elected to the Honorary Council are: Halit Celenk, Cevat Geray, Veli Devecioglu, Emin Deger, Didar Sensoy. The remaining founders of the association, who include well-known names from the left such as Mehmet Ali Aybar, Aziz Nesin and Murat Belge, are:

Adalet Agaoglu, Adnan Ozyalciner, Ahmet Abakay, Ahmet Bozkurt Caglar, Ahmet Hulusi Kirim, Ahmet Tahtakiliç, Akin Birdal, Ali Aydemir, Ali Bozkurt, Ali Sirmen, Alpay Kabacali, Aslan Baser Kafaoglu, Aydin Aybay, Aydin Erdogan, Aykut Bascil, Ayla Akbal, Ayse Simen, Aziz Nesin, Bekir Dogunay, Cahit Talas, Cevat Geray, Didar Sensoy, Emil Galip Sandalci, Emin Deger, Erbil Tusalp, Ercument Ahiroglu, Fatma Cakir, Fatma Umit Sezer, Fevzi Bahattin Argun, Filiz Karakus, Gencay Gursoy, Gulizar Caglayan, Gulden Akin, Gungor Aydin, Haldun Ozen, Halit Celenk, Haluk Gerger, Hamdi Konur, Handan Koc, Hidir Goktas, Hikmet Kocak, Huseyin Ekici, Husnu Ondul, Isik Ozgenturk, Ibrahim Acan, Ibrahim Saydan, Ibrahim Yetkin, Ibrahim Tezan, Ismail Sami Cakmak, Ismet Ozdal Demirdogen, Ismet Pekdemir, Izzet Eray, Julide Gulizar, Kazim Bayraktar, Kemal Kelesoglu, Leman Firtina, Mahmut Tali Ongoren, Mehdi Bektas, Mehmet Ali Aybar, Mehmet Ali Ozpolat, Melahat Sarptunali, Merih Sezen, Mihriban Kirdok, Murat Belge, Muserref Toper, Nebi Barlas, Neriman Deniz, Nevzat Helvacı, Niyazi Agirnasli, Nuri Karacan, Nurkut Inan, Nusret Fisek, Oktay Akinci, Osman Ergin, Osman Oge, Ozcan Oktem, Perihan Akcam, Ragip Zarakoglu, Recep Cure, Rona Aybay, Sacide Cekmeci, Sadik Gurbuz, Sennur Ozyalciner, Serap Yakut, Suphi Gursoytrak, Saziment Sulekoglu, Sirin Tekeli, Sukran Akin, Sukran Ketenci, Tahsin Sulekoglu, Vahide Acan, Vecihi Timuroglu, Veli Devecioglu, Yavuz Onen, Yucel Akinci, Yucel Sayman, Zarif Sel and Zeki Tavscancil.

9588

CSO: 3554/26



SOCIAL

TURKEY

## CITIZENS DEPRIVED OF PASSPORTS

Ankara YANKI in Turkish 21-27 Jul 86 pp 26-29

[Text] It was the autumn of 1985. Folk poet Ruhi Su was fighting a crucial battle against the fatal disease he had contracted and he was swinging back and forth between life and death. He had been given every type of medical treatment available in Turkey, but his health had not improved. Treatment overseas could perhaps offer hope or at least prolong his life. The necessary applications were filed with the pertinent authorities to enable Ruhi Su to obtain medical treatment overseas, but the Ministry of the Interior found his travel overseas "objectionable." After numerous pleas from Turkey and abroad for several days, the Ministry of the Interior and the Istanbul Martial Law Command were eventually persuaded to grant special permission for the issuance of passport for "a single journey." By that time, however, the rapidly advancing disease had made the passport unnecessary.

Less than a year after that incident, Attorney Orhan Apaydin, a former parliamentary deputy and a former president of the Istanbul Bar Association, suffered the same fate as Ruhi Su: his application for a passport for medical treatment abroad was denied on grounds that he had been a defendant in the Peace Association trial. After numerous petitions and pleas, his hopes of obtaining a passport were improved thanks to the addition, by the Council of Ministers, of a sentence to the first paragraph of the amended Article 22 of the Passport Law. However, once again the move came too late, and 2 to 3 days after the decision of the Council of Ministers Apaydin obtained his eternal passport from the angel of death.

Ruhi Su and Orhan Apaydin are not the only ones who have been prevented from traveling abroad by being denied passports. Numerous Turkish intellectuals have been refused passports and their applications have gone unanswered for many years, with and without reason. This situation has caused resentment, to say the least, in a country which is said to be taking giant strides in democracy. What is the reason for this ban imposed on the overseas travel rights of people who can speak freely in Turkey and whose writings, books, films, poems and ideas can travel abroad? Moreover, this ban has fueled doubts in Europe about the Turkish democracy and has killed many opportunities to promote various facets of our country overseas.

## Reason for Ban

Article 23 of the 1982 Constitution says that "everyone has the freedom to travel." However, that sentence is immediately followed by provisions which state that a person's freedom of travel can be restricted by law if the person is subject to criminal investigations and prosecutions and with the purpose preventing criminal acts. Moreover, Article 22 of the Passport Law states that, in addition to other reasons, persons whose travel abroad is determined to be objectionable by the Ministry of the Interior on general security grounds and persons who are accused of various crimes will be denied passports or travel documents. The constitutional rights of a major portion of Turkish intellectuals are restricted by these abstract reasons. The constitutionality of these restrictions cannot be questioned because Provisional Article 15 of the Constitution states that decisions and actions taken in accordance with laws and decrees with the force of law issued during the 12 September period and Law No. 2324 on Constitutional Order cannot be declared unconstitutional.

The denial of permission to Ruhi Su and Orhan Apaydin to travel abroad, even for medical treatment, and their subsequent deaths has led to intense aggravation both at home and abroad and put the government in a difficult position. In the face of the uproar that was caused, the Council of Ministers issued a decree with the force of law which appended the following sentence to the end of the first paragraph of the amended Article 22 of the Passport Law:

"However, in exigent circumstances passports or travel documents serving the function of passports may be issued, at the request of the Minister of the Interior and with the approval of the Prime Minister, to defendants in court cases, except those whose travel to foreign countries has been explicitly banned by courts."

## Those Deprived of Passports

Movie actor Tarik Akan is one person who is barred from having a passport. In 1981, Akan was tried in court for offenses covered by Article 140 of the Turkish Penal Code, and his passport was revoked during the time of the trial. During that period he was forced to turn down five film offers from abroad. After he was cleared of all the charges brought against him, Akan's efforts to obtain a passport remained fruitless. A year later, he was in court again in connection with the Peace Association trial. Akan, who was one of the defendants in that trial, hoped that he could benefit from the recently enacted decree with the force of law and filed the necessary applications. The Ministry of the Interior and the Office of the Prime Minister agreed that his request to travel abroad for making films is an "exigent circumstance" and issued a passport. Thus, Tarik Akan is the first person who has broken the "passport ban."

Replying to YANKI's questions, Akan said: "We correspond and talk with foreign film producers. If I did not have a contract with a foreign corporation, I would not want to use my passport for touristic purposes." Akan continued:

"This practice does not exist in any other country in the world. A person's freedom of travel cannot be restricted on such flimsy grounds. This practice is unconstitutional."

Other movie-world figures who are barred from carrying passports include Serif Goren, Meral Orhonsay and Zeki Okten. Zeki Okten, who is barred from traveling overseas because he was a defendant in the DISK [Confederation of Revolutionary Worker Unions] trial, says that enough time has already been lost and adds: "I hope that this situation is rectified from now on."

#### Persons Banned Without Reason

The denial of passports to persons who are defendants in court cases has at least some legal basis. However, numerous intellectuals, who have not been charged with any offenses in any trial, who can speak freely in Turkey and who are allowed to make statements to foreign media, are also unable to obtain permission to travel abroad. Moreover, these persons have not been given any reason for such action. One such person is Mehmet Ali Aybar, a former leader of the defunct Turkish Labor Party and the Socialist Revolution Party. Today, Aybar is one of the leading organizers in the work to form a socialist party. As part of that work he organizes gatherings and expresses his views to domestic and foreign press organizations. However, by a double-standard system, Aybar's application for a passport has not even been answered.

Aybar filed his first passport application after 12 September on 17 April 1981 and his second one on 15 January 1983 at the Diplomatic Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He received replies for these applications on 8 March 1983, that is nearly 2 years after the first application was filed. The reply from the Foreign Ministry said: "No reply has yet been received to the letter written to the Ministry of the Interior for the issuance of a passport in your name." Aybar then wrote a letter to Selahattin Cetiner, the interior minister at the time. Aybar said in his letter:

"It is evident that a person's freedom to travel abroad, which is a constitutional right, cannot be restricted by ignoring citizens' applications, except in circumstances specified by law. The truth is that the same illegal methods have been used to deny a passport to my daughter. I have also learned that my wife, who was previously issued a passport, will also be barred from traveling abroad. It is seen that there are attempts to take away one of our legal rights by illegal means and that the course that is being pursued is reminiscent of the principle of collective responsibility that was implemented in the old ages.

"I request, Mr Minister, that you accept my respects with the hope that this arbitrary practice will be ended and that the results will be communicated to me."

However, Aybar has not yet received any reply to this letter and his other petitions.

In his statement to YANKI, Aybar said that he was denied passports previously and described this practice as "political pressure." Aybar continued:

"I cannot see the meaning of this ban. If a person goes overseas, what will he do there? Let us say that he will engage in opposition. Let us assume that he will say that he does not like the actions of the Turkish government and that there is no democracy in the country. I am already saying these things here. There is no need to go abroad to do that."

Stating that this practice is illegal, Aybar added:

"One may claim that there is no democracy and that human rights are not respected in Turkey on the basis of this practice alone. Our officials have no respect for humanity and the people. This has been so since the time of the Ottoman Empire. These things can only be corrected in a socialist system."

#### 'Ministry Orders'

Like Aybar, musician Timur Selcuk has also been denied a passport even though he is not facing any legal prosecution. In 1980, Selcuk turned in his passport to the Passport Department for an extension, but he has not been able to get it back. Selcuk applied to the Passport Department for a new passport in 1983 and 1985, but he was denied a passport on grounds that "there are standing ministry orders." During that period, Selcuk was forced to turn down invitations from Sweden, Germany, France and Australia, and, as he states it, our country lost its chance to be known overseas. Selcuk explained the reasons behind his denial of a passport:

"Before 12 September, the political department kept a watch on the nights in which we participated. They reportedly prepared a 5-page report on my person. Supposedly, I attended the 'democracy and peace night' organized by DISK and leftist slogans were shouted that night. It is alleged that I attended and sang at the 'Nazim Hikmet night' organized by the Turkish Writers' Association. Numerous other similar allegations are made in the report. After 12 September, some smart alecks made up a list on the basis of such reports. These lists were entered into computers. Nowadays, the Ministry of the Interior uses computers to process passport applications. They are not issuing me a passport apparently because the computer flags my name every time I apply."

Selcuk asked: "Were there no prosecutors before 1980?" He continued:

"They never felt the need to investigate me. That being the case, how can my freedom of travel be restricted simply on the basis of reports prepared by the political department?"

Stating that he has plans to give a concert overseas this autumn, Selcuk said that he will try all peaceable and courteous means to obtain a passport. Selcuk added:



"If they still do not issue me a passport, I will resort to pressure tactics through the domestic and foreign press. I will sue them in administrative court and I will make my case heard in all the media. I am not a citizen of silent Turkey. I have been polite and courteous for the last 6 years. Now I am determined to pursue every legal course. No one has the right to restrict my freedom of travel and to prevent me from giving concerts overseas without reason."

#### An Interesting Practice

The most interesting version of the passport ban practice can be found in Mersin. Mersin's Deputy Mayor Neset Tarhan filed the necessary applications for a passport 3 months ago, but received an answer that he did not expect. A Passport Department official told him that a passport could not be issued to him because his elder brother, Nedim Tarhan, was a defendant in the Peace Association trial and that a passport could be issued if he could produce a document which states that Nedim Tarhan is not under arrest. Nedim Tarhan is a former parliamentary deputy and he was tried in the Peace Association case without being taken into custody. Stating that he was astonished by this situation, Deputy Mayor Neset Tarhan told YANKI:

"I have never been accused of any crimes in any trial. How can the situation of my brother be related to my case? Now I am trying to obtain a document to the effect that my brother is being tried without being under arrest."

Indeed, the refusal to issue a passport to Mersin Deputy Mayor Neset Tarhan is not comprehensible. Above all, this action violates the principle of the individuality of punishment and is therefore unconstitutional. In 20th century Turkey, Neset Tarhan, who is not subject to any legal prosecution and who moreover serves in the important public position of deputy mayor, is denied a passport because his brother is a defendant in a court case.

While publicizing the allegations and views of individuals encountering such practices, that is persons who are deprived of passports, YANKI also asked the Ministry of the Interior about how true these allegations are and if they are true what the reasons are for this implementation. However, the Ministry of the Interior preferred to remain silent and to ignore our queries.

[Boxed item] No Passport, No Response

Attorney Halit Celenk replied to YANKI's questions on constitutional rights of freedom, provisions of the Passport Law and the various practices in force in passport processing procedures.

YANKI: According to the Constitution, under what circumstances can a person's freedom of travel be restricted?

Celenk: Persons who are under investigation, who are subject to criminal prosecution, who are defendants in trials, who owe taxes, who have not completed their military service and who have been ordered by court to remain under general security supervision may have their freedom of travel restricted.



YANKI: What are the legal provisions on this issue?

Celenk: Article 23 of the 1982 Constitution regulates the issue of freedom of travel. That article states that in principle everyone is entitled to freedom of travel. The third and fourth paragraph of the article specifies restrictions on freedom of travel. These restrictions may be imposed in circumstances of criminal investigation or prosecution. The Constitution does not allow any other restrictions.

Additionally, Article 22 of the Passport Law specifies and regulates the circumstances which may be used to deny the issuance of a passport to a person. Although this article states that persons who are under criminal investigation or prosecution cannot be issued passports, these restrictions include a new element which is not contained in the Constitution. This element is that "persons whose departure from the country is found objectionable by the Ministry of the Interior on general security grounds" may not be issued passports.

This provision of Article 22 of the Passport Law contravenes the 1982 Constitution. The government is using this provision arbitrarily and is issuing passports to whoever it likes and refusing passports to whomever it does not like.

YANKI: How are applications for passports processed?

Celenk: Sometimes the administration completely ignores the applications of persons who are not barred by any laws from obtaining passports, and sometimes it rejects their applications by saying that "the issuance of a passport to you has been found objectionable." The administration shows no justifiable or legal reason.

YANKI: Can you give examples of implementations different from what has been specified by law?

Celenk: On 13 February 1984, I applied to the Security Directorate of the Office of the Ankara Governor for an extension of my passport which was about to expire. My application was recorded as number 1324 and a file numbered 213886 was opened. I was told that I could come and take my passport 4 days later. When I went to their office on 17 February 1984, I learned that the Ankara Martial Law Command was queried on whether my departure from the country is objectionable. The Martial Law Command had no objections to my travel overseas. Even so, however, my passport was not returned. At that time I was not under any criminal investigation or prosecution. In subsequent applications, I was told that the Ministry of the Interior was being queried about me. Not only have I not been issued a passport in the months and years that have passed since then, but I learned that my file has been placed in the archives. I did not receive a single written response.

In addition, the administration has sometimes not complied with court decisions on these issues. A client of mine in his twenties was refused a passport even though he was not under any investigation or prosecution. After

I filed a lawsuit at the Ankara Administrative Court, the court overturned the government's decision to withhold the passport to my client. The decision was final. I petitioned the Ministry of the Interior to comply with this decision. The decision has not been complied with 8 months after it was finalized, and my client still does not have a passport.

According to the Constitution, the government is obligated to comply with court decisions. A government which does not comply with court decisions cannot be considered a constitutional government. The Passport Law is one of the most frequently implemented laws in our country.

9588

CSO: 3554/26

ECONOMIC

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

## ITALY LEADS IN EEC INFRACTIONS

Rome IL MESSAGGERO in Italian 6 Sep 86 p 4

[Text] Brussels- Among the EEC countries, Italy appears to be the one that more often gives occasion to the Community authorities to intervene to protect community law and to insure fulfillment of the obligations deriving from it. According to a report to the European Parliament on surveillance of application of Community law, prepared by the European Commission, Italy is the leader in violation procedures instituted against individual countries in each of the three phases of Community reaction to national nonperformances: notice letters, justifying rulings, and resort to the Court of Justice.

For the last of these procedures--the extreme means to try to gain respect of the Community rules--from 1979 to last year, according to the European Commission, Italy was involved in 112 cases, followed by Belgium and France 62 each, Germany 29, Ireland 21, the United Kingdom 19, Luxembourg 17, and Greece (in only 3 years of EEC membership) 16, with the Netherlands the same.

The "ranking" is similar for the preceding phases of the infraction procedure: Italy leads with 420 notice letters and 235 justified rulings received.

The breakdown of the infractions by sector of application of the EEC rules shows a concentration for Italy in regard to the domestic market and industrial concerns (22 sentences by the Court of Justice in favor of the Commission, none in favor of Italy), tax affairs (9 to 0), while for transport policy it was 5 to 0.

In regard to social policy, Italy has lost two cases and won one. In agricultural policy, it has lost eight and won one. In regard to this last sector, states the report, "in Italy many violations are the result of the shortages in the border administrative structure, bureaucratic delays, and above all the length of parliamentary procedures that affect the deadlines for conversion of the directives, for implementation of the Court rulings, or for application of the Community initiatives."

9920  
CSO: 3528/8

ECONOMIC

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

GOVERNMENT REPORT CALLS GUESTWORKERS ESSENTIAL TO ECONOMY

Frankfurt FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 17 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by Gerda Strack: "FRG Cannot Do Without Foreign Workers--Commissioner Liselotte Funcke Reports: Make Assimilation Easier--"No Threat to Unemployed Germans"]

[Text] Bonn, 16 September--Foreign workers are "very significant" for the FRG economy, and they will remain indispensable in the future. This is the conclusion reached by the Federal commissioner for foreigners, Liselotte Funcke, in her "Report on Employment of Foreigners" released Tuesday in Bonn.

In the next decade and a half, the number of foreigners in the FRG will "remain approximately the same," according to Mrs Funcke's data. Willingness to return to the home country will decrease, and the length of stay will grow. In order to avoid an "outsider existence" for the foreign population which remains here, for whom the FRG has certainly become a "country of immigration," the commissioner for foreigners urges improved opportunities for assimilation.

Thus, Mrs Funcke demands legal establishment of residence status after 5 to 8 years of residence without the conditions which make it more difficult today, such as proof of a certain size of domicile. For spouses and minor children of foreigners, she demands unhindered subsequent entry into the FRG without waiting periods or age limitations. After residence lasting several years, drawing unemployment compensation would no longer lead to deportation. Finally, it is particularly important that assimilation be made easier for the children of foreigners (the so-called second and third generations).

The significance of foreign workers is often incorrectly estimated, the commissioner believes. Anyone who thinks that foreigners can be replaced by unemployed Germans is failing to recognize the structure of the labor force. One quarter of the unemployed in the FRG are over 40 years old, a quarter have health problems, and approximately half of the unemployed are women. The foreigners work particularly in high-rise and subterranean construction, in underground mining, in foundries, in heavy industry, in automobile assembly, and on the night shift. Unemployed Germans would be out of the question in many cases.

In June 1984 approximately 1.6 million foreigners were required to pay insurance, the report says. The Turks had the largest share, with about

500,000 workers, followed by the Yugoslavs with 289,000 and the Italians with 214,000. The analysis calculated the number of self-supporting foreigners as "about 100,000." Most of them were Italians, Greeks and Turks. In total, there are 4.4 million foreigners in the FRG.

Mrs Funcke stressed that the consumption of these 4.4 million people has a significantly positive effect on the economy. The foreigners paid out more proportionally for recreational electronics, household equipment, furniture and motor vehicles than the German population. In taxes on wages and income alone, the foreigners paid at least DM 10 billion a year. Through their tax payments, they helped to finance the infrastructure.

According to Mrs Funcke, well-educated foreign youths will be needed in the years to come. Population trends reveal that the number of young people who could begin professional training is decreasing rapidly. Without the young foreigners, the number of youths who are available for professional training will fall almost to half of the present graduating class by 1989/90.

Although a general end to unemployment cannot be expected before the year 2000, the commissioner calculates that some branches of the economy will not survive in the future without the employment of foreign workers. Thus in March 1985, 20 percent of the workers in the restaurant and hotel industry were foreigners. In this category particularly, the number of employees will continue to increase.

The employment of foreigners also provides relief for the social security system, according to the Funcke report. While the number of employable persons will drop after 1989, the number of old people will increase. In contrast, foreign workers would still generally be of employable age and, together with the rising generation of foreigners, would relieve the financial burden on the social security system.

9337/12947

CSO: 3620/11



ECONOMIC

ITALY

ISTAT STUDY OUTLINES ECONOMIC GROWTH

Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 18 Sep 86 p 14

[Article by Felice Saulino: "Mr Rossi Does Not Watch His Spending: Now that He Is Richer, He Eats Better and Is Very Fond of Recreation"]

[Text] ISTAT's [Central Statistics Institute] study on family income portrays a country where the well-being is advancing in the north and center, while in the south there remain dramatic pockets of poverty and unemployment. Consumer goods absorb 82 percent of earnings. Part of the population is not abandoning the traditional habit of saving. A big jump in investments by the companies. The tax burden has grown in 15 years by 16.8 percent. It is now approaching 50 percent, but it bears almost exclusively on employees. The public administration balance is visibly worsening. The state's debts have now dangerously exceeded the threshold of the entire national income.

Rome--He is increasingly rich, and he spends 82 percent of his income on consumption. He is cutting back on eating, and doesn't pay much attention to the bills when he has decided to entertain himself. The model 1985 Italian is presented to us by ISTAT, with the usual lag of the official statistics, in the now traditional "Summary of the National Economic Life," a simplified and popular version of the "General Report on the Country's Economic Situation," which is annually presented to Parliament by the ministers of treasury and budget.

However, it would be wrong to read in a "hedonistic" key the hundreds of figures, tables and percentages that ISTAT has once again assembled in a diligent and irrepressible way.

Last year, more than 16 percent of Italian families were still living on modest if not hunger incomes: in the segment that did not succeed in exceeding 800,000 lira per month. A good 23 percent were a bit better off, because they succeeded in surpassing the threshold of 800,000 to reach a maximum of 1.4 million.

At the other extreme of the pyramid were 9 percent of the families with incomes higher than 2.4 million but not higher than 3 million. And at the peak, a 7.7 percent of privileged with monthly incomes higher than 3 million lira.

Let us look at the issue from another viewpoint. Let us simplify and produce the totals. We are living in a country where 7.7 percent of the population, the element that makes more than 3 million income per month, takes 20 percent of the national income. And this same share of the wealth has to be divided among the 16 percent of the population who do not succeed in earning more than 1.2 million per month. Without mentioning--naturally--the 9 percent of our conationals who live under the survival threshold (600,000 lira per month).

#### Another Confirmation

The income distribution also confirms the historical gap between north and south: it ranges from an average per capita income, still monthly, of 654,000 lira in the north, to 420,000 in the south, passing through 564,000 in the center.

Another confirmation is the "value" that the labor market continues to attribute to the diploma. In the north, center and the south the employee with diploma always earns more than a higher secondary school graduate. While the latter--obviously--earns increasingly more than someone who has not gone beyond intermediate.

However, it is likely that to a considerable degree these averages reflect tax distortions. As we know, traders and craftsmen usually have incomes that are less evident than those of employees. Thus, the plumber or mechanic consistently shows up poorer than the mental skill employee. However, this conclusion, as we have all repeatedly had occasion to observe, does not always reflect the truth.

The tax "distortion" is also indirectly reflected in the figures supplied by ISTAT in this 20th edition of "Italians' Accounts." Let us see: in barely 15 years the overall tax load has increased by 16.8 percent. In 1970 it was 31.1 percent. In 1985 it had jumped to 47.9 percent. The main increase was in income tax, of which the greatest share is paid by employees. Of every 100 lira of tax revenue, indirect taxes provided 44, compared to 66 in 1970.

The tax injustice reinforces the shift in wealth. The rich are becoming ever richer, and the poor ever poorer. ISTAT does not provide much detail on this. It states only that in 1985 the average Italian succeeded in beating inflation and increasing his income by a good 2.3 percent, reaching the level of 10.778 million lira a year. There is not a single line about the distribution of this increase in the national wealth.

Instead, there are many pages devoted to unemployment. Some 2.471 million people seeking employment: 4.4 percent of the work force. The total unemployment rate reached 10.6 percent in 1985. It is higher for women (17.3); and very high for youth between 14 and 29. It dramatically affects the south (14.7 percent).

The structure of unemployment also confirms what we already knew. There is a constant and unstoppable loss of agricultural employed. Industrial employment is stationary. The new jobs have been created only by services. This is a

situation that has been underway for at least 5 years.

### Rapid Growth

This picture has frequently prompted less-restrained analysts to a reconfiguration of a post-industrial Italy; a country that having emerged from the industrial economy that characterized it until 30 years ago has passed first to a rapid industrial growth and currently is traveling at an even greater speed toward the post-industrial era. This is true for some realities, for some areas, for some production situations, but not for the great majority of the nation.

The most interesting chapter of the ISTAT study is no doubt that on consumption. Between 1970 and 1985 family consumption increased, at constant prices and thus in real terms, by 42.7 percent. However, the development was neither uniform nor constant.

While 1973 and 1979 were the years of greater increase, 1975 and 1983 were years of decline. However, the trend toward "consumeristic hedonism" resumed in 1984, in combination with the revival of the Western economy and the drop in inflation. And in 1985, with an inflation in single figure, Italians continued to consume at march step, ending the year with a new increase of 1.9 percent.

The structure of consumption, under the pressure of the life models suggested, if not imposed, by advertising, which had overwhelmingly entered Italian homes through private TV, has changed radically. We can say that it has literally overturned. Spending for hygiene, health, training and entertainment almost equals that for food: 121 billion compared to 124.

In the chapter "food," the shift is even more evident. Of every 1,000 lira spent for food products and beverages, Italians spent an average of 348 on meat, 214 on fruits and vegetables, 118 on pastas, 148 on milk, cheese and eggs, 43 on oils and fats, and 143 on sugar and beverages.

A comparison with the recent past shows that between 1970 and today the income portion devoted to food has changed from 37 to 29 percent. On the contrary, the portion devoted to hygiene, health, training, and entertainment in 1970 was little over 28 percent. Naturally, if one eats less, one also eats differently. The same quantity of beef. More fish. Less sugar. More butter. Much more milk. More poultry, and above all more pork. Citrus fruit wins out over pears and apples. We like pasta even more, it is not leaving our food habits, but for some time we have been consuming less flour products. The era of the great hunger survives only in the memory of the old people.

As for savings, Italians have put aside one-fifth of available income for a total of 121.557 trillion. A confirmation of the traditional propensity to accumulate on the part of broad elements of the population.

However, the most surprising fact concerns investments. In 1985, they exceeded, in absolute terms, the share of savings: 129.747 trillion lira. A record. At least 431 billion was spent to get licenses and patents. It is

one further sign of the great vitality of the country, which has accepted and won the wager of industrial modernization, restructuring and revival.

Behind the success of "Made in Italy" there has for several years been a strong injection of funds for investments in technology and knowledge.

Only in the worse years, in the worse years of the international economic situation, did this march experience some interruptions. That was the case in 1978, when there was a drop of 1.6 percent. In 1979, a new jump (up 10.4 percent). In 1980, it achieved the increase record (20.2). Then 3 years of contraction before a new climb. In 1984, investments increased by 9.9 percent; in 1985 by 3.8 percent.

#### Classification of Incomes

Distribution of family monthly income by number and percentage of total value

Categories of monthly income (lira)	% Families	% Income
Up to 400,000	2.0	0.3
From 440,001 to 600,000	7.0	2.0
" 600,001 " 800,000	7.2	3.1
" 800,001 " 1,000,000	11.8	6.5
" 1,000,001 " 1,200,000	11.4	6.5
" 1,200,001 " 1,400,000	10.6	8.4
" 1,400,001 " 1,600,000	8.8	8.0
" 1,600,001 " 1,800,000	7.9	8.3
" 1,800,001 " 2,000,000	7.9	9.2
" 2,000,001 " 2,200,000	4.4	5.5
" 2,200,001 " 2,400,000	4.7	6.5
" 2,400,001 " 2,600,000	4.3	6.6
" 2,600,001 " 2,800,000	2.4	4.0
" 2,800,001 " 3,000,000	2.1	3.7
<u>More than 3,000,000</u>	<u>7.7</u>	<u>20.0</u>
<u>Total</u>	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

#### Major Debtor

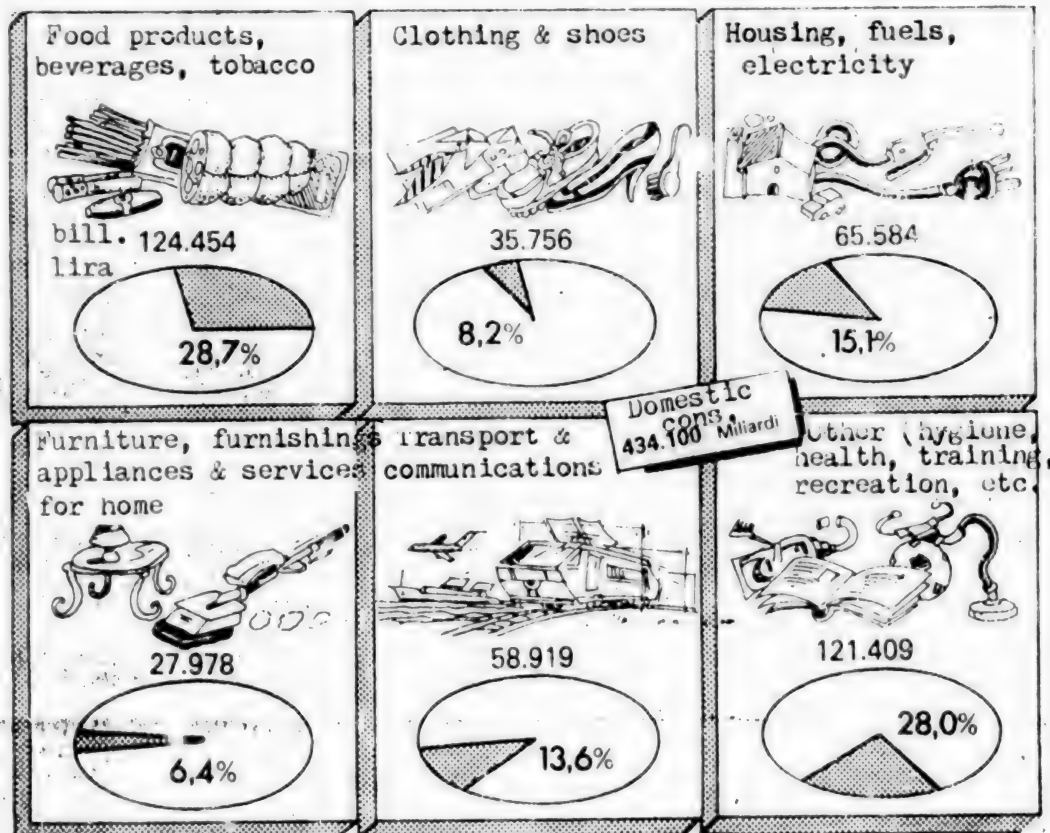
While the accounts of the enterprises are turning around, those of the public administration continue to be very bad. In the harsh reality of the 1985 accounting figures, there is revealed 306 trillion in revenue and 402 trillion in expenditure. Sixty-three trillion in interest was spent just to finance the public debt and to repay savers who had bought state bonds.

The major debtor, the Italian state, has to show itself generous toward those citizens who hold in hand the certificates of a public debt that has now exceeded the national income. At this pace 1,000 trillion will be passed in 1988.

A madness. A time bomb that risks exceeding all parameters if the

international economic situation becomes more difficult. A drain of wealth that will make problematic a new miracle for "Made in Italy" and endangers the accounts of Italians.

Spending by Italian Families Divided by Categories, Amounts and Percentages



9920

CSO: 3528/8



ECONOMIC

TURKEY

## ECONOMIC INFLUENCE IN MILITARY TAKEOVERS EXAMINED

Istanbul CUMHURIYET in Turkish 12 Sep 86 p 11

[Article by Osman Ulagay]

[Text] Today is 12 Sep. Six years have passed since the last military intervention in Turkey, and currently the country is run by civilians. However, as shown by the reactions to the events of the two weeks, the "possibility of military intervention" has not totally disappeared out of the agenda of Turkish politics. Even when there are no discernable signs of discontent in the country a few terrorist acts can be seen to raise questions such as, "What is going on, are we heading back to the old days, or is it once again a case of civilians not being able to cut the muster?" Questions float around when certain politicians, singled out by military governments in the past, are now seen throwing accusations at military governments in general. Reactions flowing from these instances, President Evren's 30 Aug address, for example, raise further question marks. Books on the market which examine the 12 Sep era are now in high demand. As for me, I will attempt to jot down a few thoughts on the "meaning and import of the day", even at the cost of overshooting the boundaries of economic commentary.

Above all else, we have to understand 12 Sep for what it is and is not. In that sense, the rather tortuous conclusion reached by Hasan Cemal in his book 'Fear of Democracy' is an important one. (The new book is an all-nighter like the previous one 'Awakening to the Sound of Tanks', which was the first volume of Cemal's commentary on the 12 Sep era.) Certainly not an admirer of military regimes, Cemal reminds us the civilians' share of the blame for 12 Sep, at several points in the book. There are excerpts from notes kept by the late Turan Gunes which are quite revealing as confessions of a sincere politician. In Dec 78, on the occasion of the declaration of martial law by the Ecevit government, Professor Gunes jots down the following:

Since 50 our politicians have been dependant, whether by deliberate choice or unwillingly, on the armed forces in the governmental or administrative spheres. I have long maintained this view by which I mean this: We tend to leave the question of law and order to the soldiers by declaring martial law for one of two reasons: either we cannot maintain law and order by regular means -- which is an admission of helplessness and a deliberate remission of responsibility -- or we allow matters to degenerate to such an extent that soldiers then seize power whether we like it or not.

As to 12 Sep one would be hard-pressed to maintain that it was the soldiers who 'seized power'. It is more of a 'transfer' of power from civilians to soldiers. This may be the reason why 12 Sep was almost instantly espoused without much of a reaction. It may also explain why the post-12 Sep treatment of the prominent politicians of the pre-12 Sep period has not produced much of a reaction. It would hardly be a coincidence for soldiers, known for their constant surveillance of the public mood, to have timed the intervention just at the point they did -- the 'fruit was ripe and ready to fall', as it were. Thus the question that needs asking at this point is why civilian governments consistently bring affairs to such an end. The answer to this may have to come under several headings.

Firstly, one must concede that a country like Turkey is not easy to govern, or lead in a certain direction. On one side there is the problem of meeting the increasing demands of over 50 million people, most of whom live in rural areas, during a process of rapid change and modernization, and of reconciling the conflicts among differentiating classes in the society. On the other side, there is the issue of Turkey, given its geostrategic location, trying to find the best possible course in an environment of external cross pressures, and being able to stick to that course.

Secondly, one cannot say that civilian institutions in Turkey, particularly political parties, have been able to keep pace with the demands of a rapidly changing and differentiating society, much less come up with solutions to meet these demands. In a country where traditions of civil society and democratic culture do not go deep, when there isn't a consensus even on the rules to be observed when resolving the contradictions and crises created by rapid change, one can easily see why things get out of hand. When politicians, unable to deliver the solutions, prefer to engage in mutual recrimination they bring civil administrations to the point of exhaustion.

Thirdly, civilians in influential positions are able to rationalize their passivity in the face of exhaustion by

thinking that "if things go out of hand soldiers would take care of the situation anyway." And some of them might even secretly welcome such a possibility with the expectation that under a military administration their stars might rise and their influence might increase. And the half-hearted attitude of big business when it comes to owning up to democracy further compounds the issue.

While these are the main developments on the civilian side of things it is noticeable that soldiers are taking care to be better prepared in governing the country in case they are called upon to do so when "other avenues are closed". The differences between the 27 May and 12 Sep movements attest to this.

If the idea is not to have further 12 Septembers then civilians would have to stop chattering about and get down to creating solutions, and once the rules of the all-civilian game has been determined, simply stick to them. Bearing in mind that its economic policies rapidly caused the income distribution to deteriorate and further deepen the rift between social classes, its tendency to interpret the 'rules of the game' somewhat randomly, and its proclivity to seek shelter under someone's shadow when things get hot, the Ozal government's record in this regard has been, and that is unfortunate, far from being constructive.

12466  
CS0: 3554/17

ECONOMIC

TURKEY

## EDITORIAL ARGUES AGAINST SINGLE STATE BANK

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 12 Sep 86 p 2

[Article by Tefvik Gungor]

[Text] There is talk of an interesting 'scenario' these days. The aim is to produce mergers between money-losing state banks and other state banks which have "relatively better" standing, and thus establishing a new bank. The old banks are expected to merge into the corporate identity of the new bank. And with capital infusion coming from the Treasury the new bank will be strengthened, and soon be scaling new heights! Or so goes the argument.

Those not old enough to recall some events of the past, or those who haven't read about or studied these events, are now introducing terribly worn-out 'scenarios' as if they were "seeing the light of day for the first time." And when these are introduced to the public amid great hullabaloo, it is interesting to see that those who are ever-forgetful of the past are quite earnest in their adulation, exclaiming "Wow! What a discovery! These must all be wunder kids!" Of course these exclamations do nothing other than push the authorities and influential circles further towards 'error'.

In 50 a bank was established in Turkey by the name of Turkish Veterans Bank. The shares of this bank was received with great demand, perhaps for the first time, and many small savers became shareholders in this bank. In 59 another bank was established by the name of Turkish Teachers, Public Employees, and Military Officers Bank. A good number of teachers, public employees, and military officers deposited money in this bank. When these two banks collapsed in 59 due to bad management the state intervened and merged the two banks in 59 under the name of Turkish Savings and Credit Bank. Unfortunately, this new bank lasted for about three years and was liquidated in 61.

The establishment of the Anadolu Bank -- currently under consideration for merger with the banking divisions of

Sumerbank, Etibank and Maritime Bank -- took place under similar circumstances. When the Wheat Bank (founded in 55), and Turkish Express Bank (founded in 53) were having problems they were forced by the state to merge. In 62 these two banks were dissolved into the corporate identity of Anadolu Bank, accompanied by great capital infusion from the Treasury.

Experience has so far indicated that a merger of two failing banks does not ensure a strong bank:

1. In this kind of 'scenario' rumor is worse than fact. The banking business is founded upon reputation. It does not help when there is public discussion that a bank is 'in trouble' and that senior management of the bank or senior bureaucrats deliver reams of announcements about the problems of the bank. One or more things are likely to follow in such instances:

-- Depositors withdraw their money

-- Those with money to deposit avoid that bank

-- Serious firms do not enter credit relations with that bank

-- Some customers with outstanding debts to the bank find it convenient not to repay

2. The newly formed bank, created from the debris of two failing banks, does stand much of a chance for the following reasons:

-- Success in inter-bank competition largely depends upon the confidence factor and quality of service. It is quite natural that a bank which comes into existence out of a merger between troubled banks would experience great hardship in inspiring 'confidence'.

-- It is impossible for the new bank, which inherits the personnel of the troubled banks, to establish competent teams offering quality service.

Despite all this, someone gets up and says, "I did it, and it worked." And you bet it does...

12466

CS0: 3554/17



MILITARY

EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

SPAIN SEEN AS POSSIBLE NATO TRAINING GROUND

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 20 Oct 86 pp 32-33

[Article by Miguel Angel Liso: "NATO Wants Its Pilots Trained in Spain"; first paragraph is CAMBIO 16 introduction]

[Text] The NATO countries would like to have their pilots receive their basic training in Spain. The Government is studying the proposal, at a time when considerable confusion reigns as to the model of our integration in the Alliance. Spain is integrated into the military structure, but not fully integrated into that structure. This seems complicated, but the riddle is to be found in the term "integrated."

Over the next several years, Spain could become one of Europe's most important basic training centers for pilots of the Atlantic Alliance. The countries integrated into NATO have conveyed to the Spanish Government the possibility of creating various training centers in our country, in which the Alliance's future military pilots could be familiarized with jet planes.

The NATO proposal refers to the basic training of the pilots and not to the use of the military firing ranges that exist or that may be created in the future in Spain.

A pilot's basic training consists of learning the techniques used for take-offs and landings of planes, the handling of navigational instruments, and the learning of different forms of flight: Acrobatic and aerial formations.

During this initial stage, the pilots learn to resolve in tenths of a second any and all types of emergencies that may occur on board, such as the loss of power in an engine, loss of ailerons, a malfunction in the hydraulic systems, and loss of landing gear. During this period, they do not receive training in the use of the complex weapon systems with which a modern fighter plane can be equipped.

Presently, in Spain, our Air Force pilots receive their aerial "baptism" in the schools at San Javier (Murcia) and Salamanca. According to NATO plans, part of these installations could be used for the training of Italian, German and Belgian pilots assigned to the troops of the Alliance.

## Under Study

The Government has formed a commission to study the NATO proposal. According to a senior military officer familiar with the matter, it is still under wraps and a report is being prepared as to the advantages and disadvantages involved for Spain in augmenting the number of training planes in our air space and in devoting various zones of our national territory to the training of European pilots.

In principle, according to sources close to the commission, there is considerable hesitation about accepting the Atlantic Alliance's proposal. "The principal obstacle," they say, "is the lack of personnel to devote to these new missions. Unless organizational staffing is increased or NATO instructors come to Spain, it will be impossible to impart that basic training in Spain."

In this senior military officer's view, NATO has its sights set on Spain as a highly suitable place for the training of its pilots, as being one of Europe's best countries for this purpose from the standpoint of its climatology throughout the entire year. Its orographic features, with valleys, planes and mountains very close to each other, make the Peninsula an excellent place for the training of pilots in low-altitude flying techniques.

## Military Structure

The NATO proposal that would convert Spain into one of Europe's military pilot training centers followed by only a few weeks the proposal on integration in the Alliance submitted officially in Brussels by Felipe Gonzalez's Government on the heels of the 12 March referendum.

The Spanish proposal is contained in a document of some 80 folios, titled: "General Principles of the Participation Model." This document was classified "Secret" by the Spanish Government and has not been disclosed officially to any of the member countries. What has been disclosed officially is a summary consisting of not more than three folios, in which the philosophy of Spain's participation in NATO has been summarized in the form of nine points.

This latter document, which has been termed a "memorandum," produced a political scandal last week in the Congress of Deputies when the Government declined to provide copies to the different parliamentary groups, owing to its nature as a classified matter.

During the same week that the Government was categorically refusing to publish the "memorandum" and convoking a secret session to discuss it, a magazine published the entire text of the nine points, revealing the fact that it contained no secret that could affect our national security or that of the West. The famous "memorandum" merely confirmed the information published months before by CAMBIO 16 (number 750 of 6 January) and other publications,

to the effect that Spain's contribution to the Alliance would be highly significant and that not belonging to the so-called "integrated structure" was but a matter of shading.

As one member of the Government comments, "When, prior to the referendum, Felipe Gonzalez said that Spain would assume its share of responsibility for defense of the West, he was certainly not referring to passing the chocolates around, but to putting soldiers, planes and warships at the service of the Allies, although in the manner most advantageous to us."

A high Defense Ministry official has told CAMBIO 16 that the Government has no tricks up its sleeve with regard to participation and that it finds it perfectly compatible to be a member of all the military committees, maintain an Armed Forces representation in Brussels, train European pilots in Spain, and even to realize joint maneuvers, without being fully integrated into the military structure. "The key," he says enigmatically, "lies in the term 'integrated.'"

In this way, the only difference between Spain and the rest of the European countries, except France, with respect to the military structure, is that our country is neither organically nor hierarchically subordinated to the Alliance's "Integrated Commands" or the executive arms of its military policy.

Thus, while Portugal, Italy and Germany must assign troops to those commands, in peace time as well as in the case of war, Spain will not have to do so. Assuming the case of a conflagration, all Spanish troops, ships and planes would remain under their normal command and would not be required to fight abroad.

The complex consisting of the Integrated Commands--SACEUR (with responsibility for Europe), SACLANC (Atlantic), CINCHAM (North Sea-English Channel) and CUSRPG (United States-Canada)--has enormous power within NATO, with direct access to the topmost military entities of each country, their defense ministers and even their heads of Government.

#### Coordination

The proposal concerning Spain's participation in the military structure, therefore, requires, according to the Government, close coordination between the military plans of all concerned, so as not to needlessly duplicate the use of human and material resources in zones of common interest.

The principal one of these zones is the so-called strategic Balearics-Straits-Canaries axis, in which Spain centers much of its military power not only to enforce its territorial integrity but also to reinforce, at the same time, the southern flank of the West.

In the event of a conflict, Spanish planes and ships, reinforced with NATO military equipment, would have to control that zone under the command of Spanish generals and admirals, who would obey the orders conveyed to them by the Government of Spain.

Independently of these missions, our country fulfills for the Alliance a role of logistical support for the Allied Armed Forces, in view of the fact that, in the event of an East-West conflict, the Iberian Peninsula would find itself, together with part of France and Great Britain, in the rear echelon. War materiel and contingents of troops needed to man the army units that would carry out the counteroffensive would have to be staged in these zones.

To achieve this coordination and not squander energies in zones of mutual interest, Spain must deploy a significant effort over the next several years, to match our installations with NATO's plans.

This effort must range from the replacing of fuel tanks at the Spanish military bases, so that they will be identical with NATO's, to the enlarging of docking and provisioning facilities of Spanish ports, so that the Alliance's ships and tankers can maneuver inside them, to the modernization of our Armed Forces.

9238

CSO; 3548/20

MILITARY

DENMARK

# SOCIAL DEMOCRATS WANT SHOULDER-FIRED MISSILES TESTED

Copenhagen AKTUEL in Danish 20 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Jens J. Krogh]

[Text] The Social Democratic Party is now demanding that the Danish defense forces test the various missile systems before the billion kroner order for 850 portable missiles is placed.

The party's defense policy spokesman, Knud Damgaard, denies that testing has to mean still another delay in the procurement of the missiles. Defense has four different systems to choose between -- American, English, French, and Swedish.

"But the technical experts are themselves very much in doubt about the guidance qualities of the various missiles. This is decisive for whether the missile suits Danish conditions. Therefore the guidance qualities must be tested, and this must be done by testing the American Stinger and the Swedish Robot missile under Danish conditions," Damgaard said.

## Guidance Qualities

He pointed out that the guidance qualities in the American Stinger and the French Mistrall system are almost identical. Therefore a test between the Stinger and the Robot is enough for the Social Democrats.

The Norwegian defense department has recently tested the Stinger and the Robot missiles, and this test was favorable to the Robot, so the Norwegians have now given their missile orders to Sweden. However Knud Damgaard rejected the idea that the test results could simply be carried over to Danish conditions, solely for the reason that the geography of the two countries is quite different.

## Coproduction

The decision on the acquisition of the missile system has now been delayed. Now the negotiations on Danish coproduction are threatening to go into a deadlock. The Ministry of Industry is now handling the negotiations on coproduction, and the offer that is on the table at the moment is in conflict with the Danish Weapons law.



For example, General Dynamics, which produces the Stinger missile, has offered Danish firms coproduction of ten mechanical and electronic parts that enter into the whole Stinger program -- also the missiles, therefore, that the Americans want to sell to other countries.

But here the Social Democrats demand that Denmark get veto rights if the Americans want to sell the missile to other countries. There can be the risk, for example, that the Americans want to sell Stinger missiles to the contras in Nicaragua, and this must not happen with Danish parts in them, the Social Democratic Party says.

9124

CSO: 3613/16

MILITARY

DENMARK

# ARMS, MUNITION DEPOTS NOT ADEQUATELY GUARDED

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 5 Oct 86 p 2

[Article by Otto Ludwig: "The Defense Department Cannot Afford Theft Alarms"]

[Text] The Defense Department does not think it has enough money for electronic supervision of all its weapons and dynamite depots. And this is presumably the reason that thieves were successful in breaking through a reinforced iron door to a bunker with ammunition and explosives at the Farum barracks.

In the theft, which is thought to have occurred Wednesday night, 100 kilograms of explosive units were removed, as well as 30 kilograms of dynamite, 600 detonators, and ammunition for handguns. If the explosives have come into the hands of a terrorist group, the theft can have the most serious consequences. The 30 kilograms, for example, are enough to produce about a dozen car bombs. And the action has shaken both the police and the military.

The theft was not discovered until Friday. The thieves cut some very strong locks to a reinforced door. Special tools are necessary for this work.

There is no steady guard at the depot. The area is patrolled by armed guards three to five times a day.

Years ago all military weapons and ammunition dumps were protected by guards most of the day. There are not enough personnel for this today.

Can Easily be Secured

"Times have changed," the duty officer in the Defense Command said. "Today one can easily protect oneself with the help of electronic means."

"But one does not do this everywhere? And in any case not in Farum?"

"No, it is obviously a question of need and of economic means. Many government areas are secured with the help, for example, of TV supervision. One can also use listening equipment. There is a very large selection of this type of hardware on the market. But permission has not been granted to the Defense Department simply to buy these things at will."

This is not the first time that weapons and ammunition have been stolen from a Danish military base. But the theft in Farum is one of the largest of its type in this country up to now.

#### Sees and Hears Everything

There is a large alarm equipment industry in Denmark. We asked a Danish firm, Alarmat, what was necessary to secure a bunker such as the one that was robbed at the Farum barracks.

"It is actually not so expensive," Director Kent Lau said. "Without having seen the bunker in question, I would guess that we can install TV supervision for 10,000 kroner. To this must be added a relatively small amount for the cable from the camera to the guardpost, where one can check the area on a screen.

"For an additional price, a supervising camera can be mounted on a rotary base that allows the camera to move to and fro.

"If one wants to pay about 40,000 kroner, a so-called time-lab instrument can be installed that records everything the camera sees on a tape. The tape can record for 72 hours. A clock shows the time every single picture was taken. And of course a microphone can be attached to the camera so that the guard can both see and hear everything that takes place within the camera's range. Furthermore, the guard can -- with the proper equipment -- zoom in and take closeup pictures," Lau said.

9124

CSO: 3613/16

MILITARY

DENMARK

#### ARTILLERY BRIGADES LACK EXPERIENCED MEN

Copenhagen AKTUELT in Danish 18 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Jens J. Krogh: "Defense Broken Down"]

[Text] If the Russians come tomorrow, they will have every chance of success in an attack on Zealand.

One part of peace preparation on Zealand has been very seriously weakened and has since the middle of this week actually only been something close to half of what was agreed upon in the defense compromise between the government and the Social Democrats.

In the compromise it was agreed that in each artillery unit in the two Zealand brigades there would be a basic crew with at least 12 months experience behind them. As of this week two Zealand brigade artillery units have consisted completely of new draftees.

"This means in practice that they do not have one single man who is combat ready. Not one man to handle a cannon. Not one to operate antiaircraft missile launchers. Not one for anything," Senior Shop Steward and Gunner Michael Eriksen from the artillery unit at Sjaelsmark Kasserne said. He calls the situation grotesque.

The command of the Second Zealand Brigade, Colonel G.K. Kristensen, confirmed to AKTUELT that it would be difficult to use the artillery units at their present strength.

"The brigade's ready force is not what it has been up to now. This situation must naturally be corrected in a future defense compromise. The army must clearly have its personnel strength considerably increased to meet peace preparations," Kristensen said.

Kristensen has no comment on how the present situation arose.

It takes between four and six months before new recruits can be expected to be able to handle rifles, cannon, and missiles.

The Social Democratic defense policy spokesman, Knud Dangaard, says that the matter will promptly be raised in the 11-man committee.

"The defense commander has simply not given proper consideration to the defense compromise as far as basic personnel are concerned. The agreement was for a regular component of 4,900 gunners and 700 gunner trainees. The recent count is a month old and shows that there are only 4,300 gunners and no gunner trainees," Dangaard said.

9124

CSO: 3613/16



MILITARY

FRANCE

## DETAILS OF MILITARY MANEUVERS PROVIDED

### Joint Maneuvers Reported with FRG

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Sep 86 p 4

[Article by special correspondent Henri de Bresson: "First Armored Division Engaged Before the Main -- A Major Franco-German 'First'"]

[Text] Wurzburg -- A party of "reds" attacked in the loop of the Main, and was contained with difficulty at the level of Wurzburg by the "blues" of the 12th West German armored division and the 1st American infantry division. The small village of Schwandorf was awakened by the din of about 10 Leopard-2 tanks from the 5th West German armored division getting ahead of the "red" forces for a delicate overtaking maneuver with the tanks from the 1st French armored division, which had been holding their ground in front of the river since the previous evening.

A few kilometers away, at a command post hastily set up in the cloak room of the municipal stadium of Theilheim, Lieutenant Colonel Morane, commander of the 1st armored cavalry regiment, took a last satisfied look at his maps. It was time for the morning coffee, after having spent the whole night with the liaison officers of the 4th West German brigade preparing this delicate phase of the maneuvers. "We are in a position to intervene with the allied troops if we are asked to do so," commented the French officer.

The presence of such a large contingent of Frenchmen in Franconia constituted the main event of these "Frankischer Schield" maneuvers which brought together this week 50,000 men and 14,000 vehicles, of which 650 were tanks. Based in Treves, the 1st French armored division had moved 3,500 men and 100 AMX 100-30 tanks. Never before had so many French elements participated in maneuvers so far east in the Federal Republic. "A major first," commented the French army chief of staff, General Maurice Schmitt, who stressed "the perfect integration" between the French and West German units.

The West German defense minister, Mr Manfred Woerner, was not restrained in expressing his satisfaction. "It is a major political and military moment," he said in a short speech delivered in French. This operation demonstrates "the French nation's desire to participate in the defense of the frontline German territory," added Mr Woerner, thanking the French officers. "You are welcome. The people understand it and feel it."

In spite of the reserve of the French military authorities present, the West Germans, who have never hidden their desire to see France become more committed to the defense of their territory, have very good reasons for being satisfied. The 'Frankischer Schield' maneuvers demonstrate a growing desire on the part of Paris to free itself from certain taboos in order to allow for greater cooperation with the West German forces on the side of the integrated military NATO organization. It is not a question of returning to integration within the military set-up of the Western alliance, but rather of finding formulas which will make it possible to reconcile the desire for increased cooperation with the FRG at the traditional level and the French desire to preserve its own military autonomy. "There are a great many possibilities between Franco-German cooperation and the integration of France into NATO," noted General Altenburg, who will return to the headquarters of the allied military organization next week.

#### Reservist Exercises Near Dijon Described

Paris LE MONDE in French 28/29 Sep 86 p 7

[Article by correspondent Didier Cornaille: "The Burgundy Underground -- 1800 Reservists on Maneuvers"]

[Text] Dijon -- The hills of Auxois, west of Dijon, saw 3 days of skirmishes with automatic arms, of low level helicopter flights and of spectacular landings of commandos who disappeared in a few moments into the depths of the local forests. On Tuesday, 23 September, the staff of the 10th combined divisional regiment [RIAD] met at Sens and at Digoïn (Saône-et-Loire). The next day, it was the turn of the ranks to join their units. All the manpower of this 10th RIAD, staff as well as enlisted men, are reservists placed under the authority of Lieutenant Colonel Staghelimi, commander of the military school of Autun. For 3 days he had to defend the Burgundian territory all his men came from (approximately 1800) against an enemy symbolized by a unit of mobile gendarmes or by a handful of men from the contingent.

It was the first time that this 10th RIAD was maneuvering in the field. It was established only in mid-1985 and it was given its flag on 7 June of the same year, at Alesia, a major historic site in Burgundy. It is, to say the least, a symbol. "After the Maconge exercise," said General Hailaud, commander of the 64th territorial military division, "the 10th RIAD really became the regiment of Burgundy."

Is this concept of units made up of regional reservists who are called to fight on their own terrain, a new one? Not completely, answered the staff members, but it does involve a total reorganization of the reserves.

As a matter of fact, the emphasis all during the Maconge 86 exercise was on the necessary cooperation between the gendarmerie, the people and the 10th RIAD. The "message to be passed on to the people," circulated prior to the maneuvers of the 64th military division, states that "in case of a threat, the goal of the people and of the army units present in the field will be to defend our freedoms."

In case of conflict, the speed and effectiveness of current war resources would cause the territory to be invested very rapidly. The battle then would no longer be face to face between strictly military units. There would no longer be a front, but a kind of hand-to-hand between an invader and the underground.

Hence those units which take after both auxiliary troops of the irregular forces and former national guardsmen. Hence also, the spider web formed by the divisional combined regiments attached to their own terrain.

8463

CSO: 3519/8

3 December 1986

MILITARY

FRANCE

## DGA REPRESENTATIVE DISCUSSES ARMS SALES, COOPERATION

Paris L'USINE NOUVELLE in French 16 Oct 86 pp 57-58

[Interview with Jacques Chevallier, general delegate for armaments, by Jean-Pierre Casamayou; date and place not given]

[Text] The General Delegation for Armaments (DGA) is celebrating the 25th anniversary of its establishment. The conference which it is holding on 16 October will have the objective of finding ways of facing up to the challenges of the future. In effect, the DGA doesn't have time to reflect on its past, even though it contributed to lifting the entire armaments industry to high points of achievement: nearly 300,000 steady jobs and third rank in the world in terms of its exports. However, those prosperous times are fading from sight. Jacques Chevallier, the general delegate for armaments, knows this better than anyone. Therefore, he is hastening to develop resources capable of meeting the challenges of a world rapidly changing in both the technological and trade areas. In the interview which he gave to L'USINE NOUVELLE he explained why the DGA and its factories, and all of French defense industry as well, must find new ways of working, cooperating, and exporting.

[Question] You have just made changes among the top executives of the DGA. Is this the beginning of a more basic change--involving your basic legislation, for example?

[Answer] The reorganization of the top management of the DGA was carried out in order to respond more effectively to the concerns of the Ministry of Defense, to satisfy more appropriately the needs of our armed forces--that is the role of the programs of the general delegate for armaments--and to promote exports and cooperation with the general delegate for international relations.

As far as the rest of the DGA is concerned, there is no threat to the position of our personnel. I am not convinced that a change in our basic legislation would provide any solution to our problems.

Look at what is happening in private industry producing land weapons: it's not getting along very well, either. Rather, we are looking for administrative action making it possible to provide greater autonomy to our component parts and more mobility to our personnel. That is, geographic as well as internal mobility.

[Question] Is the situation at your arsenals as bad as people say it is?

[Answer] They are suffering from a problem of not having enough work to do. The GIAT shops are equipped to manufacture artillery and tanks. It is precisely this kind of equipment which is receiving a smaller allocation in the budget. And, as the budgets of our customers and the U. S. dollar are going down, whereas our competitors are increasingly active, we are seeing an unavoidable decline in our exports. Furthermore, the rigid structure of GIAT prevents it from responding to invitations to bid like the one issued for a multiple rocket launcher (MLRS) by the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and France. This is a program under which the construction of the "most important part" has been turned over to Aerospatiale.

Regarding naval construction, the situation is different. The programs for building nuclear submarines are carrying the industry. Furthermore, this kind of industrial activity does not lend itself to export, and it is suffering less than others from the decline in foreign demand.

[Question] How does the CGA "supervise" the armaments industry?

[Answer] I don't like the word "supervise" very much. We tend to say, "It is up to private industrial firms to handle their own affairs. They should not depend on the state." However, each time that we undertake a program, we take into account its impact on each industrial sector. In the same way, we spread out their fixed costs with our orders. There is no use in undertaking a wide range of programs and later cancel them for lack of sufficient budgetary resources.

The second aspect of our activity is financing industrial research and development work. In 1986 this effort amounted to more than 19 billion francs.

[Question] International military cooperation and exports seem to be at a standstill. What are the reasons for these difficulties?

[Answer] There is a lot of talk about international cooperation. However, when it is time for action, there is generally a lot of tears and lamentations. To meet a common need, we wind up with different results, often in the form of a "five-legged sheep." For example, the Franco-German attack helicopter. Regarding the transfer of technology, over the long term this winds up with closing off the market.

Exports? They force us to be competitive and make it possible for us to make money. However, events are developing in an unfavorable way for exports. Look at what is happening with combat aircraft: the western countries have only sold 21 of them since the beginning of 1986. We can no longer emphasize exports! And it is clear that our trade balance in the armaments sector will tend toward equilibrium.



[Question] Should international military cooperation take other forms?

[Answer] First of all. I think that in order to have military cooperation function well, you need an industrial base with a marketing program and not merely political cooperation.

For the future of our armaments industry, I think that the right way to do things is to arrange for increased purchases. We are selling one type of equipment and are buying another. Look at what has just been arranged with Great Britain: we have bought radar equipment from them, and the British have ordered submarine mine-sweeping equipment from us. However, this solution leads to an international division of labor and the loss of certain skills. To avoid this danger, we might think of several sources of procurement and the transfer of workers within the same sector--missiles, for example.

S170

CSC: 3519/16

MILITARY

FRANCE

# PRESIDENT, PRIME MINISTER AT ODDS OVER DEFENSE BUDGET

Paris LIBERATION in French 15 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by Jean Guisnel]

[Text] President Francois Mitterrand does nothing by accident. And his frank discussion with reporters on 13 October at the military base at Caylus (Tarn-et-Garonne) was carefully prepared, although whether it would take place was uncertain until the last moment. His very long statement on strategic problems and especially on armaments, intended to ensure the viability of the French nuclear striking force until the beginning of the 21st century, came at a carefully chosen moment. And although he will receive the prime minister, accompanied by the ministers of defense and foreign affairs, on 15 October at the Elysee Palace, without the presence of the chiefs of staff of the armed services, the president will do more than present a survey of the terrain. The discussions within the government on the preparation of the forthcoming military program law are not over, and Francois Mitterrand, who seemed until recently to have retired from the scene to some extent, clearly intends to claim his place--and all of his place--in the debate.

The reservations which he has expressed regarding the S4 missile (calling it a "risky deployment") are quite significant in this respect. Whereas Paul Quilès, the former socialist minister of defense, had decided to freeze this new missile project, Andre Giraud, his successor, has put it back on track, following the views of the prime minister in that respect but also the views of the French Air Force and the powerful General Delegation of Armaments and Jacques Chevallier, its director. Although the views of the Prime Minister's Office have not been made public on so-called "major" equipment programs, such as the nuclear aircraft carrier, the "AWACS" type airborne detection system, or the future combat aircraft derived from the "Rafale," the S4 missile, on the contrary, is now being built. The 1987 military budget, the first under the program law, will allocate 58 million francs in disbursement credits to it and 637 million francs in program authorizations.

By concentrating his criticisms on this weapons system, Francois Mitterrand has therefore unmistakably decided to confront the government and its strategic decisions directly. Planned to enter into service in 1996 with a total of 30 missiles, the S4 reportedly will be 10 meters long, will weigh 9 tons, and will have a range of up to 3,500 kilometers. As President Mitterrand recalled in Caylus, there is nothing revolutionary about that.

since the missile trajectory will be ballistic, like that of the submarine missiles. It will only carry one nuclear warhead, like the American "Pershing" missiles. To support his reservations about this program, the president did not neglect the point that they are already contained in a report of the Committee on Defense of the National Assembly, signed by Paul Andre Wiltzer, a supporter of Raymond Barre, and Jean Pierre Bechter, a member of the RPR. In effect, these two figures emphasized that the Soviets have made substantial progress in countering ballistic missiles. Furthermore, they have stated that the protection of the S4 mobile missile threatens to be questionable.

Towed by a truck, the S4 is intended to be deployed in military camps in peacetime and eventually throughout the country--in a "random" pattern--during periods of tension. Wiltzer and Bechter state: "It is not certain that such a weapons system will remain free to move--its principal advantage--in an environment which could become hostile." Furthermore, they regretted that the "hardened" communications system which the ground-based missiles on the Plateau d'Albion have would not be usable for the S4 missiles, which apparently could not be deployed just anywhere at all but only at points designated for them and which would therefore be strongly protected. These remarks were very welcome to the president, who observed that the conclusions of the report--generally favorable to the S4--were not consistent with the preceding text. He said: "I must say that, although I have expressed some reservations about the conclusions of this report, I personally think that the elements of the analysis which it contains are rather remarkable."

Therefore, in Francois Mitterrand's view the right choice lies in particular in continuing the missile launching nuclear submarine program (SNLE) and especially in the development of the M5, the new missile intended for them. He does not intend to have the future of this program threatened by the S4 program. No doubt, he would not be opposed to the government's purely and simply abandoning--or at least "freezing"--the S4 land-based missile. It would then be possible to adapt the future "M5" missile to the launching silos on the Plateau d'Albion, which "must remain the foundation on which and around which the land-based component (of the French nuclear striking force) should be organized."

If Jacques Chirac wanted to keep Francois Mitterrand out of the military and strategic debate, he has failed.

5170

CSO: 3519/16

MILITARY

SPAIN

#### PSOE CRITICIZED OVER NATO MEMORANDUM

Madrid EPOCA in Spanish 13 Oct 86 pp 36-37

[Article by Miguel Platon]

[Text] Now, 8 months after the controversial referendum on NATO, the socialist government has still not defined the format of Spain's ties to the Atlantic Alliance, while it is concealing basic information from the Cortes [parliament] and month after month, it continues to strengthen Spain's integration in NATO's military structure.

One of the main arguments used by the opposition last March, when it advocated abstaining on the referendum, was that the government's proposal was confused. The experience of recent months has confirmed this view, not only in members of parliament on the center and right, but also among those on the left.

When the minister of relations with parliament, Virgilio Zapatero, 2 weeks ago refused to send to congress the memorandum that sets forth the principles of Spain's ties with the Alliance, all the parliamentary groups--with the sole exception of the socialists--protested. The ministers of foreign affairs and defense will now have to communicate to parliament the terms of the document sent last May to the secretary general of NATO, Lord Carrington, which was examined by the Atlantic Council shortly afterward.

#### Political Folklore

The parliamentary incident has two dimensions: one is the serious debate on the role Spain is to play within NATO; the other, with more comic overtones, is the fight about whether or not parliament will get the paper delivered in Brussels, about which both the government and the opposition have orchestrated a strange sort of farce, one that is hard to imagine happening in any other country of Europe.

The most picturesque detail of the case is that the essential lines of this supersecret memorandum were released last May, both by the minister of defense, Narcis Serra, and also by the Spanish delegation to NATO. It is

sufficient to review newspaper articles dated between 17 and 25 May to find fairly complete accounts of the basic contents of the Spanish document. But this has not kept the opposition parties from acting in recent days as if this were the very first time they had learned of the existence of the memorandum. Moreover, this is not the only memorandum that Madrid has issued in recent months.

In a quite amazing manner, this particular ceremony of confusion has been stirred up by the government and the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party]: first of all, when Virgilio Zapatero said that the memorandum was secret, and so could not be revealed to the deputies, in flagrant contradiction with the Official Secrets Act; secondly, when in the full session on Wednesday, 1 October, the minister of foreign affairs, Fernandez-Ordonez, took refuge behind the excuse that the document had been declared confidential by NATO's secretary general, Lord Carrington; and finally when, shortly afterwards, the spokesman for the socialist group, Martin Toval, told the press in the corridors of the chamber that the secret classification had been adopted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, a comment that made Zapatero's hair stand on end.

All the parties involved had created a great uproar about something that had a simple explanation: on 13 May of this year, 2 months after the referendum, the government delivered to Lord Carrington a nine-point memorandum setting forth Madrid's view of the principles on which Spain's participation in the Alliance should be based. Then on 16 May, 3 days later, the official publication of the Alliance, ATLANTIC NEWS, mentioned the existence of this memorandum. The Spanish delegation then revealed the general outlines of the memorandum. A week later, on 22 May, Narcis Serra gave additional information while speaking to Spanish correspondents in the Belgian capital, where he was attending a meeting of the Defense Planning Committee. The content of the minister's statement is given at the end of this article.

#### "Socialist NATO Does Not Exist"

This parliamentary game-playing on access to the memorandum has partly obscured the indepth issue: the difficulties that Felipe Gonzalez's administration has been having in translating its position in the referendum into something coherent.

At the time of the referendum, the point that Spanish participation would not entail membership in the integrated military structure was included in the question. As many observers pointed out at that time, it is not possible to define what that integrated military structure is and what it is not. Now we see that these observations were correct, and the socialist government is in fact bringing Spain into NATO's military structure, though with some limitations which have bewildered the Alliance. NATO's secretary general, Lord Carrington, has stated publicly that he does not understand what the Madrid government wants.



In NATO, which is a military alliance, there was no distinction at all between its military structure and political structure until in 1966 France decided to limit its participation in NATO. At that time, the Defense Planning Committee was established.

Spain's socialist government, though, has decided to participate in all of NATO's subsidiary organizations in which France does not take part, ranging from the Nuclear Planning Group to the Defense Planning Committee.

The socialists maintain that only integrated commands comprise the famous military structure, an opinion which has caused some bewilderment in Brussels. In the memorandum, though, Spain declared its willingness to undertake military tasks similar to those performed by such commands and in coordination with them. Therefore, the limitation cited in last March's referendum is on the verge of becoming a mere question of semantics.

In the opinion of Javier Ruperez, a PDP [People's Democratic Party] deputy who in 1982 became Spain's first ambassador to the Alliance, "in essence, what is happening is that the socialists have sold a NATO which does not exist: anti-American, without military integration, and outside the Nuclear Arms Non-Proliferation Treaty."

#### The "Gibmed"

Its refusal to become a part of the Alliance's commands prevents Spain from negotiating for its own command: the Iberian peninsula and its nearby areas therefore remain under the present NATO commands, and the problem of the existence of "Gibmed," the Gibraltar command, remains vivid.

Finally, to the extent that it does not cooperate with "Gibmed," Spain will continue to be unable to participate actively in protecting the Strait of Gibraltar, where, as some high-level navy commanders have commented, it is possible to find all sorts of warships: British, North American, Soviet, French..., but very rarely Spanish ships, due to budget difficulties.

#### The Nine Points of the Memorandum

1. Spain will participate fully in the Atlantic Council and its subordinate bodies.
2. Spain does not accept the deployment of nuclear weapons in its territory, but this position is compatible with its membership in the Nuclear Planning Group.
3. Spain's contribution to the collective defense system, and in particular to the defense of the Balearic-Strait of Gibraltar-Canaries "axis," will be made "from outside of the integrated military structure."

4. To achieve the necessary coordination, Spain will continue as a full member of the Defense Planning Committee, and Spain's chief of staff will be present in the Military Committee.
5. Spain will take part in military planning activities conducted by the Defense Planning Committee.
6. Spain will take part in logistic coordination of equipment and weapons.
7. Spain wants to participate in infrastructure programs--which will be negotiated on the basis that such programs may also be used to contribute to Spain's own national defense--and in the military budget.
8. Spain will present candidates for the international secretariat and will have a level of responsibility equivalent to the level of its participation.
9. In application of these principles, Spain will in the future prepare specific proposals covering its participation.

This is a summary of a two-page text. The aspects not stated explicitly in May--which will be expanded or revealed to the deputies this week by the ministers of foreign affairs and defense--are related to: the participation by Spanish officers in the international general staff (a support group for the Military Committee); Spain's readiness to communicate Spanish national military plans to the Alliance (including military targets); the desire to conclude coordination agreements with NATO's integrated commands--including "Gibmed," which is based in Gibraltar; and finally--and this is the most controversial point--Spain's willingness to carry out military tasks assigned to it by the Alliance.

As the reader will appreciate, many of these points need further development in order to make Spain's participation more concrete. These issues will have to be negotiated with Brussels.

7679

CSO: 3548/14

MILITARY

SPAIN

#### DEFENSE MINISTRY TO PURCHASE DIGICOM RADAR

Madrid ACTUALIDAD ECONOMICA in Spanish 13 Oct 86 p 81

[Text] The Digicom consortium has won out over Telefonica, and is being awarded the 1.5 billion peseta contract for the first phase of the RADITE [Military Automated Integrated Digital Telecommunications Network] project to provide the army with telecommunications equipment.

The defense ministry has just officially awarded the first phase of the RADITE project to Digicom, a consortium of eight companies. Digicom won the bid from Telefonica, the other competitor for the contract. Funding for the RADITE project may amount to about 30 billion pesetas, spread out over 8 years. The final budget will depend on the evolution of the army's requirements. For the time being, the defense officials are proposing an initial phase of 5 billion pesetas to be divided into three parts, the first of which is what has just been awarded to Digicom in a restricted bid.

#### Who Digicom Is

The Digicom consortium was formed in 1978 at the initiative of the ministries of industry and defense. It is composed of EISA [Industrial Experiments] and EESA [Electronic Equipment], which today both belong to INISEL (the electronics group of the INI [National Institute of Industry]), and Marconi Espanola. In 1985 Standard Electrica and ERIA (which is also part of INISEL) joined Digicom. Standard Electrica came into the consortium because of its work with switching systems, and ERIA because of the leadership role it is acquiring in software. Later Siemens and Page Iberica were also added to the consortium; the German firm has made some very important technological developments in communications. Page Iberica was brought in because of its work in turnkey engineering developments for military projects. So for the first time, companies which have traditionally competed to win contracts have joined together to cooperate in the same project. In the words of Jose Luis Gomez Solera, spokesman for the group (see ACTUALIDAD ECONOMICA no 1,455), "Digicom is a marriage of convenience."

With this decision, the ministry of defense has emphasized a change in course in its policy of acquiring military equipment. Until now, the

Spanish government has purchased defense materiel by trying to obtain the best equipment at the most favorable price. This method has hurt Spain's electronics industry, which is now looking very favorably at this change in strategy that has encouraged some companies which compete in many markets to have no hesitation about joining to work together. The objective of the first phase of the RADITE project is the installation of switching centers, control elements for these centers, and voice and data multiplex equipment for mobile units. According to Jose Luis Gomez Solera, "winning the RADITE project is very important to us, as it will open up new potential markets, both in Spain and internationally."

7679

CSO: 3548/14

MILITARY

SPAIN

# EXPENDITURES FOR MILITARY R & D TO INCREASE 50 PERCENT

Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 22 Oct 86 p 17

[Text] The secretary of state for defense, Eduardo Serra, yesterday told the Senate's defense committee that the 1987 research and development budget for his ministry will be 15.5 billion pesetas. This is a 50 percent increase from the 1986 r & d budget. According to Serra, 85 percent of this budget will go to the air force, which has the greatest needs.

Recently NATO's top military commander in Europe, Gen Bernard Rogers, expressed doubts about the capability of the Spanish air force to carry out NATO missions. Until the present, such missions have been entrusted to U.S. aircraft stationed at bases in Spain, which the United States and Spain use on a joint basis.

The secretary of state for defense explained that in 1980 the research and development budget was 400 million pesetas; in 1984 it was 2 billion; in 1985, 4 billion; in 1986, 10.5 billion; and in 1987, it will be 15.5 billion pesetas. "We are," he noted, "on the brink of the upper level of spending of the less developed countries, and 5 times lower [in r & d spending] than countries like France, the United Kingdom, and the United States."

Serra pointed out that Spain does not participate in international arms programs by a decision of NATO, but rather that this is an exclusively Spanish decision. Among the international programs toward which the department's investments are being directed, the secretary of state for defense cited EFA-ACE [European Fighter Aircraft] projects. Spain will sign a memorandum for this program tomorrow, after the cabinet last Friday gave the minister of defense the requisite authorization. Another is the Maverick program, an air to air missile for F-18 aircraft, being manufactured in cooperation with five other European countries. There are also other technological cooperation programs. Serra said that neither the Eureka nor Strategic Defense Initiative projects are among these programs.

Serra further stated that for the defense ministry, whether the companies participating in these programs are public or private is a secondary issue.

7679

CSO: 3548/14



MILITARY

TURKEY

# PAPER REVEALS SECRET ORDER SIGNED BY EVREN

Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 12 Sep 86 p 16

[Text] HURRIYET has unearthed the fact that the secret order for the 'Flag Operation' -- implemented by the Turkish armed forces on 12 Sep 80 in keeping with the chain of command -- had been issued by the Chief of General Staff Kenan Evren to relevant echelons of the armed forces two months before the actual operation. Upon examination, the secret order appears to contain very humanitarian views and elements. The order specifies the code name of the operation as 'Flag', and goes on to mention a number of rules to be observed in relations with the public: That the public should be treated very politely, complaints and applications should be heard with patience, in public services one should be helpful toward citizens putting an end to the 'go today, come tomorrow' policy, the citizen should never be treated badly and unfairly, everyone should be accorded objective and equal treatment regardless of political orientation, and so on.

The 'Flag Operation' order, issued on 15 Jul 80 bearing the signature of the Chief of General Staff Gen. Kenan Evren and sent to relevant echelons of the armed forces, reads as follows:

The Turkish armed forces which has assumed full responsibility for the operation aiming to save our esteemed nation from the multi-faceted unrest and anxiety currently prevailing, and bring about a state of security and prosperity in the shortest time possible, and reinstitute the orderly functioning of the state which has been non-existent lately. Whatever the conditions, our armed forces, in shouldering this sacred and historical responsibility, draws its strength from a high sense of duty and responsibility inherent in its personnel which staff its honored ranks, and from the spirit of discipline based upon mutual affection, respect and trust.

The success of these Ataturkist initiatives, which will be sustained by the same spirit, depends upon absolute compliance,

at every echelon, on the principles stated below and their implementation with utmost care:

All orders will be implemented in keeping with the chain of command; any individual effort or initiative will not be allowed or tolerated. Various groups and dens of activity -- which consider the extrication of our country out of this chaos inimical to their interests -- would no doubt continue their insidious activities aimed at breaking and shattering the bonds of discipline which constitute the greatest strength of our armed forces. To ensure that the members of the Turkish armed forces are not singly or collectively influenced by such machinations, and to preserve the overall integrity of our forces the following rules are to be observed:

1. All personnel will execute this operation with great humility, utter determination, an overriding sense of patriotism, and full realization of discipline. On no account will the commanders compromise discipline.
2. The operation will succeed throughout the country due to the high sense of duty of armed forces personnel. All personnel, at every echelon, will have duties equal in importance and quite indispensable. This situation should not be subjected to misuse. Though insidious groups eagerly await such things to happen, "irresponsible statements," "all kinds of conversations and discussions," "unwarranted acts and tales of ingenuity, courage and heroism" will be avoided at all costs, and no one will assume the role of spokesman for the armed forces. When necessary, and only then, a simple statement could be issued, underlining the point that our armed forces "are fully capable of resolving every kind of problem to the benefit of the country and nation, in accordance with the principles of Ataturk, and in keeping with the chain of command."

During this period all echelons of the armed forces will be coming into contact with the civilian public. At the moment a good majority want nothing other than the country get rid of all kinds of problems and attain peace and tranquility. So they are siding with the armed forces and offering their support. To ensure that the prestige of the armed forces remains intact in the eyes of the public, and that no erosion takes place in the fund of goodwill existing among the great majority of people, following points will receive utmost attention:

1. In coming into contact with the public, whatever the occasion, extreme politeness will be the order of the day, and extra effort will be made to create a feeling of contentment among the public as a result of this contact, thus reinforcing the feeling of trust.

2. Complaints and applications will be patiently heard, evaluated judiciously, and the slow wheels of bureaucracy notwithstanding, will be processed as quickly as possible.
3. In every office and institution of the state, particularly state economic enterprises, citizens will be helped within the confines of existing rules and regulations, and service will be provided without delay. The 'go today, come tomorrow' policy will most certainly be discontinued, and possible solutions will be sought for the problems of citizens.
4. Whatever the place or time, citizens will not be treated badly, unfairly or unpleasantly.
5. Assuming a know-all pose in matters where one has little knowledge will certainly be avoided hence saving the public from misleading advice. In such instances, the public will be referred to relevant authorities, and all facility and help will be provided.
6. Within the democratic parliamentary system belonging to a political party or holding a political view which is legal is a most natural right. So long as a person or group is not known to engage in activities harmful to the country, everyone will be accorded objective and equal treatment.
7. Assault, pillage, theft, brigandage, behaving like a bully, disobedience to the authorities, making light or fun of them, or insulting them will not be tolerated at all.
8. Separatism, provocation of the people against the administration, obstruction of state authority and enforcement of laws, misleading the public or state forces by disseminating groundless rumors, maintaining contact with illegal organisations while persisting in terrorist acts will be punishable by severe measures within legality, and with a view to putting the perpetrators out of action. And these measures will be maintained on a continuing basis.
9. Legal proceedings will be initiated against those hesitant about the operation, or those who openly oppose it as well as those subscribing to extremist, separatist views.

Morning of 12 Sep

It is now understood that the order to implement the 12 Sep operation -- by which the Turkish armed forces seized power -- was given in early hours of the morning in 11 Sep. The order, issued that morning to relevant echelons of the armed forces, demanded that the 'Flag Operation', issued two months earlier,

be put into effect. The 11 Sep order specified that the armed forces take charge of the country at 3 am. The curfew was to take effect at 5 am. The commanders were asked to notify their superiors by 5 pm on 11 Sep indicating that all preparations had been completed with the code, "Roads are clear." Had the operation been postponed the situation would have been relayed to subordinate units by means of the code, "Ahmet's are coming." The order also stated that seven communiques would be issued over the radio in early hours of the morning, and that all of them should be treated as an order, and carried out accordingly.

12466  
CSO: 3554/19

MILITARY

TURKEY

## SEMINAR EXAMINES COUNTRY'S POSITION IN NATO

### Effects of Mediterranean Problems Discussed

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 5 Sep 86 p 7

[Text] Speaking at a symposium called 'The Effects of Mediterranean Issues on NATO Europe', organized by Marmara University Center of International Strategic Research, Professor Yasar Gurbuz said, "Turkey is the only NATO country whose planes are older than its pilots."

The seminar which started yesterday in the administration building of Marmara University is to last three days. It is attended by 15 experts, scientists and researchers from 9 countries as well as deans and directors of faculties and institutes affiliated with the university.

In his opening speech Professor Orhan Oguz, president of Marmara University, observed that at last year's symposium, which was the first of its kind, the issue was to determine the extent of pollution in the Mediterranean, while this year's focus was Turkey's place in NATO's southern flank. "Our aim is to repeat the success of last year's symposium," said Oguz.

Speaking later, Professor Gurbuz referred to Turkey's neighbors -- their military power and relations with Turkey:

Our one problem with Iraq is their approximately \$1 billion outstanding debt to Turkey. Tensions in our relations with Iran seem to be increasing a little every day. As to Russia and Bulgaria, the issues are completely different. And despite being NATO members even Turkey and Greece have their problems. Gurbuz drew attention to Turkey's important role in the southern flank of NATO as well as the existing tensions with our neighbors. He said:



Despite all that Turkey's military equipment is unbelievably outmoded. And the only move toward the renewal of the equipment seems to be the F-16 project. But this project is so slow in moving that I'm afraid by the time it is completed F-16s would be outmoded as well.

Also speaking at the symposium, NATO Assistant Secretary General Dr. George W. Jaeger pointed out that NATO had a peace aspect alongside its military one. He said:

Today the West is ready to be flexible toward the East. However, Eastern Bloc officials seem to be good in talking peace in front of the public but do not articulate the same things once they get to the negotiation table. But lately there has been a perceptible change in Soviet readiness for exerting efforts in a positive direction. Despite all the peaceful initiatives more time as well as more mutual trust would be needed than presently exists to attain disarmament, added Dr. Jaeger. He went on:

In my speech I took particular care not to touch upon the issues between Turkey and Greece. Because like similar problems elsewhere in NATO this is a regional dispute. I chose to define our respective positions in this complicated situation rather than talk about a regional dispute between Turkey and Greece.

#### Focus on Warsaw Pact Relations, Economic Role

Istanbul CUMHURİYET in Turkish 5 Sep 86 p 6

[Excerpts] The seminar titled 'The Effects of Mediterranean Issues on the Security of NATO Europe', organized by Marmara University Center of International Strategic Research, started yesterday in the conference room of the university administration building. Making the opening speech, Professor Orhan Oguz, president of Marmara University, underlined the increased importance of Turkey in view of its location facing the Warsaw Pact as well as being in the Middle East where actual wars are taking place. Oguz said:

Through Turkey is placed in such a critical region and is obviously important it is difficult to say it receives enough attention from its NATO allies. Spending on defence at the cost of slowing down its economic development Turkey has not been getting the kind of aid that has been anticipated for years. The rapid modernization program of the Turkish army has not been finalized for one reason or another.

Speaking later, Professor Yasar Gurbuz drew attention to Turkey's relations with its neighbors, touching upon Syrian policies and armament in particular. "Turkey is the only NATO country whose planes are older than its pilots. Its naval vessels are also aged. Turkish army would have to undergo rapid modernization in the near future," said Gurbuz. Reminding listeners that Turkey's military operations on Iraqi soil last month drew Iranian criticism Gurbuz pointed out that "relations between the two contrasting political systems may deteriorate in time," and emphasized "the need to be extremely careful in this respect."

NATO Assistant Secretary General Dr. George Jaeger, speaking at the seminar, said that "being in NATO is akin to being married to 16 women. NATO is not simply an organisation it is a community." Referring to East-West relations, Jaeger described NATO as a deterrent force, saying, "Looked at individual countries there are significant military elements. However, it is hardly a coincidence that the Soviet Union has not attacked us during the last 35 years. The alliance has a deterring aspect. NATO contains democratic countries. These countries got together because people wanted it. This situation has deterred the Soviets for the last 35 years." Preferring not to touch upon problems between Turkey and Greece Jaeger said, "I didn't take up this subject because this is a regional dispute. There are regional disputes in other NATO regions as well."

The opening session was attended by the Greek Consul General in Istanbul Leonidas Hrisantapoulos and high-ranking officers.

In the afternoon session the Director of the Center for Mediterranean Strategic Studies Claude Nigoul presented a paper titled 'Soviet Strategy in the Mediterranean' followed by Professor Armando De Castro from the Lisbon Institute of Strategic and International Studies -- 'The Economic Aspect of the Tension among Western Mediterranean Countries', and Associate Professor Jale Civelek of Marmara University -- 'The Dispute between Turkey and Bulgaria'.

12466  
CSO: 3554/20

END

**END OF**

**FICHE**

**DATE FILMED**

*18 Dec 86*

---